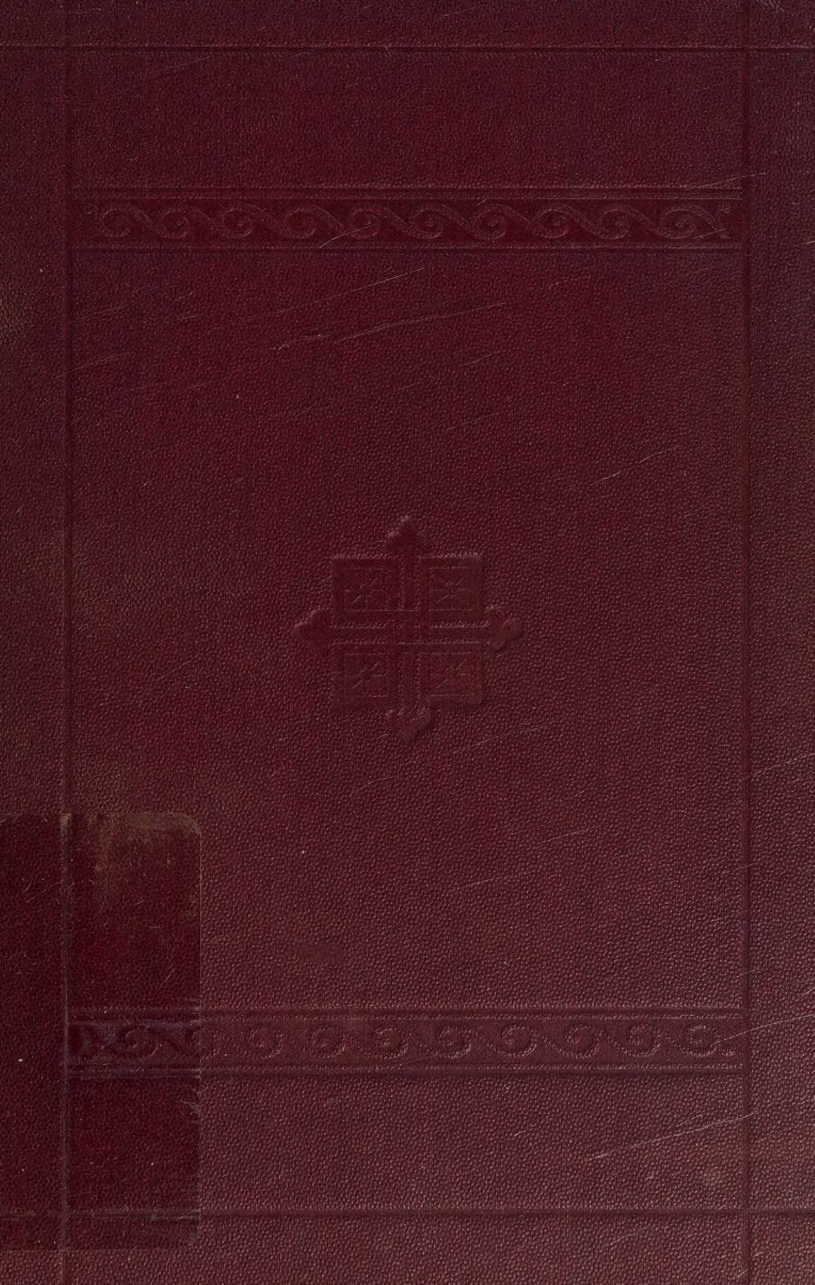


PROPERTY OF
EDINBURGH COLLEGE OF ART

THE HOPE TRUST,
31 MORAY PLACE,
EDINBURGH.

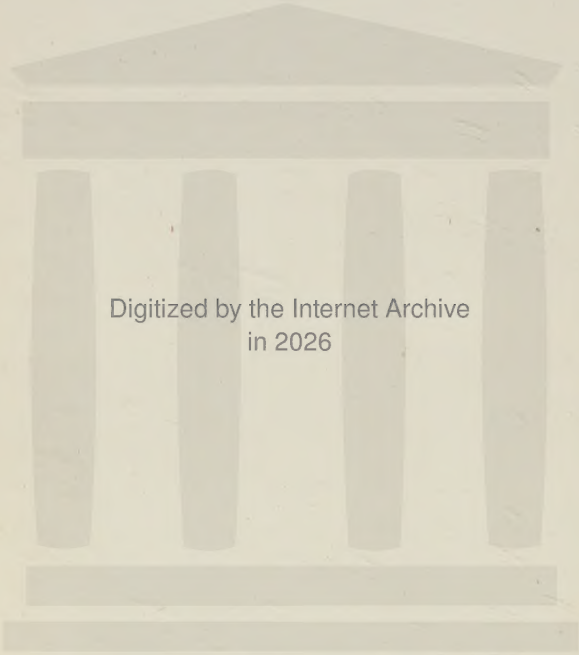
J 940

3-28-91

BR 162 .R6 1875 v.5
Robertson, James Craigie, 1813-1882.
History of the Christian church

DATE	ISSUED TO
3-28-91	Deborah Hokett

BR 162 .R6 1875 v.5
Robertson, James Craigie, 1813-1882.
History of the Christian church



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyofchristi0005jame_l7q9

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION
A.D. 64-1517.

BY JAMES C. ROBERTSON, M.A.
CANON OF CANTERBURY,
AND PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

A NEW AND REVISED EDITION

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.—VOL. V.

PROPERTY OF
THE CHURCH ON THE W...

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1875.

[*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

162
.R6
1875
v.5

Printed by Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.

CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

List of Popes and Sovereigns . . . . . Page x.

BOOK VI.—*continued.*

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF POPE GREGORY VI. TO THE DEATH OF POPE CELESTINE III., A.D. 1046-1198.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS, A.D. 1106-1122.

	Page
Council of Guastalla . .	1
Conferences at Châlons and Troyes	2
Henry V. in Italy . .	3
Seizure and submission of Paschal II. . . .	6
Movements of the Hildebrandine party. . .	8
Henry in Germany . .	11
His second Expedition to Italy	12
Gelasius II., pope; Gregory VIII., antipope . .	14
Calixtus II.	16
Council of Reims. . .	17
Conference with Henry I. of England at Gisors . .	20
Punishment of the Antipope	23
Dispositions towards peace .	24
Concordat of Worms . .	26

CHAPTER VII.

MONASTICISM.—NEW ORDERS—THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS.

	Page
State of Monasticism . .	29
William of Hirschau . .	30
Cluniacs, Camaldolites, etc.	32
New Orders :—	
I. Order of Grammont .	33
II. Carthusians . .	38
III. Order of Fontevraud	42
IV. Cistercians . .	46
V. Canons regular of St. Augustine . .	50
Premonstratensians .	51
VI. Canons of St. Antony	56
Templars and Hospitallers . . .	*ib.*
Increased power of Monachism	61

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS TO THE DEATH OF POPE ADRIAN IV., A.D. 1122-1159.

	Page
Death of the Emp. Henry V.	65
Election of Lothair III.	67
Calixtus II.—Honorius II.	68
Rival Elections of Innocent II. and Anacletus II.	69
Innocent leaves Rome for France	72
Bernard of Clairvaux	*ib.*
Peter the Venerable, of Cluny	80
Innocent gathers strength	81
Meeting with Lothair at Liége	83
Council at Reims	85
Innocent visits Clairvaux	86
Innocent's return to Italy	*ib.*
Coronation of Lothair	87
Council of Pisa	88
Bernard at Milan	89
William of Aquitaine	90
Roger II. of Sicily	92
Lothair's second visit to Italy, and death	93
Conrad III., king of the Romans	94
Bernard and Peter of Pisa	95
End of the schism	96
Second General Council of Lateran	*ib.*
Roger acknowledged as king	97
Intellectual movement of the age	*ib.*
Nominalism—Roscellin	98
Abelard	100
His amour with Heloisa	104
Abelard a monk at St. Denys	107
He is condemned at Soissons	108
Foundation of the Paraclete	110
Abelard at Ruys	111
His correspondence with Heloisa	112
His peculiar opinions	113
Council at Sens	118
Last days of Abelard	120
Republicanism in Italy	122
Arnold of Brescia	*ib.*
Republicanism at Rome	125
Celestine II.	126
Lucius II.	127
Eugenius III.	128
The Latins in the East	129
Edessa taken by the Mussulmans	131
A Crusade projected	132
Second Crusade	139
Suger, regent of France	147
Divorce of Lewis VII. and Eleanor	149
Hildegard	150
Council at Reims	151
Bernard's book "Of Consideration"	155
Deaths of Conrad, Eugenius, and Bernard	157
Frederick Barbarossa	158
His first visit to Italy	160
Adrian IV., pope	162
Death of Arnold of Brescia	164
Frederick crowned as Emperor	166
Affairs of Sicily	167
Eskil of Lund	169
Question as to "beneficia"	*ib.*
Frederick at Roncaglia	172
Differences with the pope	173
Death of Adrian IV.	176

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER III., A.D. 1159-1181.

Rival Election of Victor IV. and Alexander III.	177
Council of Pavia and Frederick are for Victor	180
Alexander generally acknowledged by other powers	181
Surrender and humiliation of Milan	183

	Page
Alexander in France	185
Council of Tours	186
Death of Victor — Paschal III., antipope	*ib.*
Diet at Würzburg	188
Alexander returns to Rome	189
Battle of Monte Porzio or Tusculum	191
Frederick crowned by the antipope	192
Pestilence at Rome — The Emperor Frederick forced to leave Italy	193
The Lombard League	195
Murder of Becket	196
Treaty of Venice	198
Third Council of Lateran	201
Last years and death of Alexander	202

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE LUCIUS III. TO THE DEATH OF CELESTINE III. A.D. 1181-1198.

	Page
Lucius III.	204
Frederick conciliates the Italians	205
His sixth visit to Italy	206
Urban III., pope	207
Marriage of Henry with Constance of Sicily	208
Death of Urban	211
Kingdom of Jerusalem	*ib.*
Conquests of Saladin	213
A crusade preached	217
The emperor goes on the Crusade	219
His death	225
Richard I. of England	227
The kings of France and England join the Crusade	229
Surrender of Acre	231
Quarrels of the Crusaders	232
A truce concluded	235
Return and captivity of Richard	*ib.*
Celestine III.	237
Destruction of Tusculum	238
Henry VI. in Sicily	239
Project of a new Crusade	241
Death of Henry	243

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREEK CHURCH — SPAIN — BRITISH CHURCHES — THE NORTH — MISSIONS.

	Page
I. State of the Greek Church	244
Manuel as a Theologian	247
Attempts at reconciliation with Rome	248
II. Nestorian Missions in Asia	250
Prester John	*ib.*
III. The Spanish Church	252
IV. England — Reign of Stephen	254
V. Scotland — St. Margaret	257
David I.	259
Edmer chosen for St. Andrew's	260
Claims of York to jurisdiction	261
VI. Ireland	263
Malachy of Armagh	265
English conquest	269
VII. The Scandinavian kingdoms	274
VIII. Pomerania	278
Otho of Bamberg	279
Rügen	286
North Germany	287
Vicelin	288

CHAPTER XII.

SECTARIES—VISIONARIES.

	Page
I. *Eastern Sects*	289
The Bogomiles	*ib.*
II. *Western Sects*	295
(1.) Tanchelm	*ib.*
(2.) Eon de Stella	296
(3.) Peter of Bruis	297
Henry	300
(4.) Cathari	304
(5.) Pasagini	326
(6.) Waldenses	327
III. *Visionaries*	337
Hildegard	*ib.*
Elizabeth of Schönau	338
Joachim of Fiore	339

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. THE HIERARCHY	346
(1.) Increase of the papal power	*ib.*
Legates	349
Papal claims as to councils	351
Infallibility	352
(2.) Election of bishops	353
Foundation of sees	355
Investiture	*ib.*
Precistæ	356
Increase of royal power and rise of communes in France	357
(3.) Judicature	358
(4.) Archdeacons, officials, etc.	360
(5.) Wealth of the church	363
Advocates and other officers	365
Regale and *Jus Exuviarum*	366
Taxation of the clergy	368
(6.) Morals of the clergy	369
Lay-Patronage—Pluralities	371
Simony	372
Warlike bishops	373
(7.) Celibacy and marriage of the clergy	374
(8.) Canons	381
II. MONASTICISM—RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS	383
(1.) Carmelites	384
Humiliati	385
Orders of Fiore and Sempringham	386
(2.) Rivalry of Cluniacs and Cistercians	*ib.*
Degeneracy of the Cistercians	391
(3.) Monastic exemptions	393
St. Augustine's, Canterbury	395
Christchurch, Canterbury	398
Monks and Canons	402
Decay of monastic spirit	403
(4.) Templars and Hospitallers	405
Teutonic order	*ib.*
Other military orders	406
(5.) White Hoods	407
III. RITES AND USAGES	409
(1.) Number of the Sacraments	*ib.*
(2.) Doctrine of the Eucharist	410
(3.) Administration in one kind	412
(4.) Disuse of Infant-communion	413
(5.) The Lord's Day	414
(6.) Trinity Sunday	416
(7.) The Blessed Virgin	*ib.*
Festival of the Conception	417
(8.) Burlesque Festivals	419

	Page
(9.) Relics. . . .	420
(10.) Pilgrimage . . .	423
(11.) Miracles . . .	424
(12.) Penance—Indulgences Confession and Absolution	425 427
IV. STATE OF LEARNING .	428
Universities	*ib.*
Study of Roman Law . .	429
Canon Law—Gratian . .	431
University of Paris . .	433
Oxford—Vacarius . .	434
Cambridge . . .	435
Ignorance of Greek . .	436
Theology—Peter Lombard .	437
School of St. Victor . .	439
Faulty methods of study .	*ib.*

LIST OF POPES, SOVEREIGNS, ETC.

Popes.

(The names in brackets are those of anti-popes.)

A.D.		A.D.
1099.	Paschal II.	1118
	[Theoderic, 1100.]	
	[Albert, 1102.]	
	[Sylvester IV. 1105-1111.]	
1118.	Gelasius II.	1119
	[Gregory VIII. 1119-1121.]	
1119.	Calixtus II.	1124
1124.	Honorius II.	1130
1130.	Innocent II.	1143
	[Anacletus II. 1130-1138.]	
1143.	Celestine II.	1144
1144.	Lucius II.	1145
1145.	Eugenius III.	1153
1153.	Anastasius IV.	1154
1154.	Adrian IV.	1159
1159.	Alexander III.	1181
	[Victor IV. 1159-1164.]	
	[Paschal III. 1164-1168.]	
	[Calixtus III. 1168-1178.]	
	[Innocent III. 1178-1180.]	
1181.	Lucius III.	1185
1185.	Urban III.	1187
1187.	Gregory VIII. (Oct. 20—Dec. 17)	1187
1187.	Clement III.	1191
1191.	Celestine III.	1198

Eastern Emperors.

1081.	Alexius I. (Comnenus)	1118
1118.	John (Kalojoannes)	1143
1143.	Manuel	1180
1180.	Alexius II.	1183
1183.	Andronicus I.	1185
1185.	Isaac Angelus	1195
1195.	Alexius III.	1203

Emperors and Kings of the Romans.

(The date in the first column is that of election or succession as independent king—election as colleague of a reigning emperor not being noticed. The date in the second column is that of coronation as emperor.)

1106	1111.	Henry V.	1125	1152	1155. Frederick I. (Barbarossa) 1190
1125	1133.	Lothair II. or III.	1137		
1138		Conrad III.	1152	1190	1191. Henry VI. 1197

Kings of France.

1060.	Philip I.	1108	1137. Louis VII. (the Young) 1180
1108.	Louis VI. (the Fat)	1137	1180. Philip II. (Augustus) 1223

Kings of England.

A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1100.	Henry I.	1135	1154.	Henry II.	1189
1135.	Stephen	1154	1189.	Richard I.	1199

Kings of Scotland.

1057.	Malcolm III.	1093	1106.	Alexander I.	1124
1093.	Donald Bane	1094	1124.	David I.	1153
1094.	Duncan	1094	1153.	Malcolm IV.	1165
1094.	Donald Bane (restored)	1097	1165.	William the Lion	1214
1097.	Edgar	1106			

Kings of Aragon.

1104.	Alfonso I.	1134	1162.	Alfonso II.	1196
1134.	Ramiro II.	1137	1196.	Peter II.	1213
1137.	Petronilla	1162			

Kings of Castile.

1072.	Alfonso VI.	1109	1126.	Alfonso VIII.	1157
1109.	Urraca and Alfonso VII.	1126	1157.	Sancho III.	1158
			1158.	Alfonso IX.	1214

Kings of Denmark.

1105.	Nicolas	1134	1147.	Sweyn III.	1157
1135.	Eric II.	1137	1157.	Waldemar I.	1182
1137.	Eric III.	1147	1182.	Canute VI.	1202

Kings of Hungary.

1095.	Coloman	1114	1161.	Stephen III.	1173
1114.	Stephen II.	1131	1174.	Bela III.	1196
1131.	Bela II.	1141	1196.	Emeric	1203
1141.	Geisa II.	1161			

Dukes of Bohemia.

1100.	Borziwoi II. (expelled)	1107	1190.	Conrad II.	1191
1107.	Swatopluk	1125	1191.	Wenceslav II.	1193
1125.	Sobieslav I.	1140	1193.	Henry Bretislav	1196
1140.	Ladislav IV.	1174	1196.	Ladislav V.	1197
1174.	Sobieslav II.	1178	1197.	Przemislav II. Ottocar, King, 1198,	died 1203
1181.	Frederick	1190			

Kings of Jerusalem.

A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1100.	Baldwin I.	1118	1185.	Baldwin V.	1185
1118.	Baldwin II.	1131	1186.	Guy of Lusignan	
1131.	Fulk	1144	1192.	Conrad	1192
1144.	Baldwin III.	1162	1192.	Henry	1197
1162.	Amalric I.	1173	1197.	Amalric II.	1205
1173.	Baldwin IV.	1185			

Kings of Sicily.

1101.	Roger II.	1154	1194.	Henry I. (Emperor Henry VI.)	1197
1154.	William I.	1166	1197.	Frederick I.(Emperor Frederick II.)	1250
1166.	William II.	1189			
1189.	Tancred	1194			
1194.	William III.	1194			

Archbishops of Canterbury.

1093.	Anselm	1109	1173.	Richard	1184
1114.	Ralph of Lescures	1122	1184.	Baldwin	1190
1123.	William of Corbeil	1136	1191.	Reginald * (Nov. 27 to Dec. 26)	1191
1138.	Theobald	1161			
1162.	Thomas Becket	1170	1193.	Hubert Walter	1205

Archbishops of Mentz

1088.	Ruthard	1109	1161.	Conrad I. of Wittelsbach (dep.)	1165
1111.	Adelbert I., Count of Saarbrücken	1137	1165.	Christian I.	1183
1138.	Adelbert II., of Saarbrücken	1141	1183.	Conrad I. (restored)	1200
1141.	Marculf	1142	1200.	Leopold II. of Schönfeld (ejected)	1208
1142.	Henry I. (deposed)	1153		Siegfried II. of Eppenstein	1230
1153.	Arnold of Selenhofen	1160			

* Died without enthronization.

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK VI. (CONTINUED.)

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF POPE GREGORY VI. TO THE DEATH OF POPE CELESTINE III., A.D. 1046-1198.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. TO THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS.

A.D. 1106-1122.

So long as his father lived, Henry V. had been unmeasured in his professions of obedience to the Roman see; and, now that the elder emperor was removed, the pope supposed that he might make sure of compliance with the claims which from the time of Gregory had been advanced on behalf of the church. In October 1106, Paschal held a council at Guastalla, which renewed the decrees against lay investiture; while, with a view to the restoration of peace, it was provided that such bishops and clergy of the imperialist party as had received ordination from schismatics, should, unless

guilty of simony or usurpation, be suffered to retain their preferments.[a] Before the opening of the council, envoys had arrived from Henry, requesting the papal confirmation of his title,[b] and inviting the pope to spend the Christmas season with him at Augsburg. The message appeared to promise the fulfilment of all Paschal's wishes; but, as he proceeded towards Germany, some expressions reached him which suggested a suspicion as to Henry's designs, and induced him to turn aside into France, in the hope of engaging Philip and his son Lewis, who for some years had been associated in the kingdom,[c] to take part with him against the German sovereign.[d] He was, however, unable to obtain from the French princes anything beyond vague promises,[e] and was to pay severely for the encouragement which he had given to Henry's rebellion against his father. The new king was bent on recovering all the authority which his crown had lost or risked in the contests of the preceding years, and for this purpose he was ready to employ all the resources of a character bold, crafty, persevering, and utterly unprincipled.[f]

In April 1107, a conference was held at Châlons on the Marne between the pope and some ambassadors of Henry, headed by Bruno, archbishop of Treves, and Welf, duke of Bavaria. The king had now thrown off all disguise, investing bishops and compelling the prelates of Germany to consecrate them.[g] The envoys, emboldened by Paschal's late concessions to Henry of England,[h] demanded, with a confident air, that the

[a] Hard. vi. 1883; Ekkehard, 240.

[b] "... ut jus sibi regni Concedat."—*Donizo*, ii. 1091-2. Luden, in supposing this to mean a demand of the right of investiture (ix. 352, 657), infers too much from an expression dictated by the necessities of verse, and his view altogether appears too subtle.

[c] It is uncertain whether since 1099 or 1101. Sismondi, v. 11.

[d] Ekkehard, 241; Planck, iv. 264.

[e] Suger. Vita Ludov. Grossi. c. 9 (Patrol. clxxxvi. 1269).

[f] Stenzel, i. 612, 720.

[g] Luden, ix. 356.

[h] Giesel. II. ii. 54.

right of investiture should be acknowledged, and, with the exception of the archbishop of Treves, are said to have behaved as if they intended rather to frighten the pope by clamour than to discuss the question—especially Welf, the nominal husband of Matilda, a large, burly, noisy man, who always appeared with a sword carried before him.[i] The argument on the imperial side was left to archbishop Bruno, who eloquently and skilfully contended that from the time of Gregory the Great it had been customary that the vacancy of a bishoprick should be notified to the sovereign, and that his leave to elect a successor should be obtained; after which the new bishop was to be chosen by the clergy and people,[k] and invested by the sovereign with ring and staff.[l] The bishop of Piacenza replied, on the part of the pope, that this reduced the church to the condition of a handmaid, and annulled the effect of the Redeemer's blood. At this speech the envoys gnashed their teeth and declared that they would waste no more words; that the question must be determined at Rome and with the sword.[m] A few weeks later a council was held at Troyes, where the pope condemned simony and investitures, but Henry's representatives declared that their master would not be bound by the judgment of a synod assembled in a foreign kingdom.[n]

It was not until 1110 that the internal troubles of Germany, and the wars in which he was engaged with his neighbours of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, allowed Henry to attempt the fulfilment of his threat. He then, after having concluded a treaty of marriage

[i] Suger, l. c. Welf is described as "vir corpulentus, et tota superficie longi et lati admirabilis, et clamosus."

[k] "Petitione populi, electione cleri."

[l] Suger (1270) places the investiture *after* consecration; but, as the real course of proceeding was opposite, Stenzel (i. 613) and Luden (ix. 628) think that the mistake must lie with him rather than with the prelate whose speech he reports.

[m] Suger, 1270.

[n] Stenzel, i. 616.

with the princess Matilda of England,[o] crossed the Alps at the head of 30,000 cavalry, with a great number of infantry and other followers; and for the purposes of controversial warfare he was attended by a body of learned men, while a chaplain named David, a Scotsman by birth and afterwards bishop of Bangor, was charged with the task of writing the history of the expedition.[p] The cities of Italy, which had shown an insubordinate spirit, submitted, with the exception of Novara and Arezzo, which paid dearly for their resistance.[q] Even the countess Matilda did homage by proxy for the fiefs which she held under the crown, and promised to support the king against all men except the pope.[r] Paschal, who in the two preceding years had sent forth fresh denunciations of investiture as a sacrilege, had engaged the Normans by a special promise to assist him; but, dispirited as they now were by the recent deaths of their leaders Roger of Apulia and Bohemund, they were altogether unable to cope with so overwhelming a force. They answered the pope's supplications with excuses, and were even afraid lest they should be driven out of their Italian conquests.[s] From Arezzo Henry sent envoys to the pope, requiring him to bestow on him the imperial crown and to allow

[o] The marriage took place in 1114. Ekkeh. in an.

[p] Ekkehard, 243; Order. Vital. iv. 7; W. Malmesb. 655-6. Ekkehard and Malmesbury call David *Scotus* and *Scotigena*, which Giesebrecht (iii. 1047) supposes to mean an Irishman; but such words seem by this time to have meant a native of North Britain. In the Worcester Annals he is styled a Welshman—probably for no other reason than that he became bishop of Bangor (p. 377, ed. Luard). His work, which was used not only by Ekkehard and Malmesbury, but in the 16th century by Aventinus (Annales Boiorum, pp. 478, 486, ed. Basil. 1580), has never been printed, and is generally spoken of as lost, although I have somewhere read that it is supposed to exist in the Imperial Library at Vienna. A German writer, having found a Life of Henry V. mentioned in the catalogue of an Oxford library, assumes that it must be the book in question—forgetting that the emperor is not the only fifth Henry known to history.

[q] Ekkeh. 244; Donizo, ii. 18.

[r] Ib. 1160-4.

[s] Chron. Casin. iv. 40; Schröckh, xxvi. 47; Stenzel, 632.

the right of investiture. In reply he received a startling proposal of a compromise—that, in consideration of his relinquishing investiture, the bishops and abbots should resign all the endowments and secular privileges which they had received from his predecessors since Charlemagne, and on which the royal claim was founded.[t] The pope expressed an opinion that, as the corruptions of the clergy had chiefly arisen from the secular business in which these privileges had involved them, they would, if relieved of them, be able to perform their spiritual duties better; while he trusted for their maintenance to the tithes, with the oblations of the faithful, and such possessions as they had acquired from private bounty or by purchase. The sincerity of this offer, so prodigiously favourable to the king, has been questioned,[u] but apparently without reason, although it is difficult to imagine how the pope could have expected to obtain the consent of those whose interests were chiefly concerned.[x] Henry foresaw their opposition—more especially as the pope, instead of employing clerical commissioners, had entrusted the proposal to a layman, Peter, the son of a convert from Judaism named Leo;[y] and at Sutri he accepted the terms on condition that the cession of the "royalties" should be ratified by the bishops and the church. The engagements were to be exchanged at the imperial coronation, which the pope was to perform at Rome.[z]

[t] "Civitates, ducatus, marchias, comitatus, monetas, telonium, mercatum, advocatias regni, jura centurionum, et curtes quæ regni erant, cum pertinentiis suis, militiam et castra." Pertz, Leges, ii. 67; Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1110 (ib. Scriptores, xvii. 21).

[u] As by Planck, IV. i. 273.

[x] See Schröckh, xxvi. 49; Gieseler, II. ii. 55, who considers that Urban had prepared the way for it by the 11th canon of Melfi, A.D. 1090: "Quod si forte clericorum aliquis cujuslibet laici possessionibus usus fuerit, aut vicarium, qui debitum reddat, inveniat, aut possessione cedat, ne gravamen ecclesiæ inferatur." Placidus of Nonantula contends that what has been given to the church may not be alienated. De Hon. Ecclesiæ, Præf., cc. 7-9 (Patrol. clxiii.).

[y] Luden, ix. 388.

[z] Ekkeh. 244; Sigeb. Gemblac. 373.

Henry reached the city on the 12th of February 1111, and was received with great magnificence. In St. Peter's, as if to throw all the odium of the proposed arrangement on the pope, he declared that it was not his wish to deprive the clergy of anything which his predecessors had given them. On this the German and Lombard prelates broke out violently against Paschal, whom they charged with sacrificing their rights, while he had taken care to secure his own lordship not only over the patrimony of St. Peter, but over Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. The nobles, alarmed at the prospect of losing the fiefs which they held under the church, were furious. Long conferences and delays took place. The king said that, as the pope could not fulfil his part of the compact, it must be given up, and required to be crowned at once. A German started forth and roughly told the pope that there was no need of further words; that the Germans would have their master crowned, like Pipin, Charlemagne, and Lewis. The day had worn away, and, as night was coming on, Henry, by advice of his chaplain Adalbert, arrested the pope and cardinals, with a number of clergy and others, and the palaces of the high ecclesiastics were plundered by the soldiery.[a] Immediately Rome was in an uproar; the people murdered such of the Germans as were found straggling about the streets; and on the next day bloody fights took place. The king himself, after having slain five Romans with his lance, was unhorsed and wounded in the face; a Milanese noble, who gave up his horse to him, was torn in pieces, and his flesh was cast to dogs.[b] Exasperated by these scenes, Henry carried off the pope and cardinals, and for sixty-one days kept them prisoners in the castles of the neighbourhood, while the country

[a] Chron. Casin. iv. 38: Pertz, Leges, ii. 65, seqq.; Otho Frising. vii. 14.

[b] Chron. Casin. iv. 39; Card. Aragon. 361-2: Landulf. jun. c. 18, ap. Murat. v.

was fearfully devastated by the German troops. Henry was master only of the quarter beyond the Tiber; the rest of Rome was held out by the inhabitants, whom John, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, animated to resistance by the offer of forgiveness for all their sins.[c] By some it is said that the pope was treated with personal respect; by others, that he was stripped of his robes, chained, and threatened with death unless he would comply with Henry's desires.[d] It was in vain that the king endeavoured to bend him by representing that, in granting the right of investiture, he would not bestow offices or churches, but only royal privileges.[e] But the cardinals who were with Paschal urged also that investiture was a mere external ceremony; the Romans, distressed by the ravages of the troops, and dreading the capture of their city, earnestly entreated him to make peace; and at last he yielded, declaring that for the deliverance of the church and of his people he made a sacrifice which he would not have made to save his own life. He swore, with thirteen cardinals, to allow investiture by ring and staff, after a free election and as a necessary preliminary to consecration; never to trouble the king either on this subject or as to his late treatment of him; and never to excommunicate him.[f] Henry then released his prisoners, and on the 13th of April[g] was crowned emperor in St. Peter's—the gates of the Leonine city being shut from an apprehension of tumults. The pope was reluctantly obliged during the ceremony to deliver to the emperor with his own hand a copy of his engagement, as evidence that he adhered to it after the recovery of his liberty. At the celebration of the eucharist he divided the host into two parts, of which

[c] Luden, ix. 394-8.

[d] Chron. Casin. iv. 39-40; Suger. Vita Ludov. c. 9, col. 1272; Planck, IV. i. 278; Stenzel, i. 641.

[e] Pertz, Leges, ii. 71.

[f] Pasch. Ep. 24; Pertz, Leges, ii 71-2; Chron. Casin. iv. 40.

[g] See Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 134.

he himself took one, and administered the other to Henry, with a prayer that, as that portion of the life-giving body was divided, so whosoever should attempt to break the compact might be divided from the kingdom of Christ and of God.[h] The courtly historiographer David found a precedent for his master's treatment of the pope in Jacob's struggle with the angel, and in the speech, "I will not let thee go except thou bless me."[i]

The emperor returned to Germany in triumph, and on the way spent three days with the Countess Matilda, whom he treated with high respect and appointed governor of Lombardy.[k] He signalized his victory by nominating and investing his chaplain Adalbert to the archbishoprick of Mentz ;[l] and he proceeded to celebrate the funeral of his father. Urged by the general feeling of the Germans, he had endeavoured at Sutri to obtain the pope's consent to the interment ; but Paschal refused on the ground that it was contrary to Scripture, and that the martyrs had cast out the bodies of the wicked from their churches.[m] The pope, however, afterwards found it convenient to believe an assertion of the late emperor's repentance ; and the body, which for five years had been excluded from Christian burial, was now laid in the cathedral of Spires with a magnificence unexampled in the funeral of any former emperor.[n]

Aug. 1111

No sooner had the terror of Henry's presence been removed from Italy than voices were loudly raised against the pope's late compliances. The Hildebrandine party,

[h] Chron. Casin. iv. 40; Card. Aragon. 363.

[i] Ekkeh. 244 ; W. Malmesb. 655 6.

[k] Donizo, ii. 1250-9.

[l] Ekkeh. 245.

[m] Chron. Casin. iv. 36.

[n] Ekkeh. 245 ; Stenzel, 652. The Petershausen Annalist says that the burial was allowed in consideration of Henry's submission to the legate Gebhard (Patrol. cxliii. 347; see above, c. iv.). The family burial-place is described in the Chron. Urspergense, p. 207.

headed by Bruno, bishop of Segni[o] and abbot of Monte Cassino, reproached him with a betrayal of the church, and urged him to recall his unworthy act; at an assembly held in his absence they renewed the decrees of his predecessors against investiture, and declared the compact with the emperor to be void. The feeble pleas which Paschal advanced, in conjunction with the cardinals who had been his fellow-prisoners, were disallowed, and in a letter to the cardinal bishops of Tusculum and Velletri, who, as they had themselves escaped captivity, were conspicuous in the agitation against him, he promised to amend what he had done.[p] An envoy whom he sent into Germany, to request that Henry would give up investitures, returned, as might have been expected, without success;[q] and at the Lenten synod of 1112, which was held in the Lateran, the pope found himself obliged to condemn his own engagement, to which he said that he had consented under constraint, and solely for the peace of the church. He asked the advice of the prelates as to the means of retrieving his error. They loudly declared the compact to be condemned and annulled, as contrary to the Holy Ghost and to the laws of the church; but even this was not enough for the more zealous members of the assembly, who urged Paschal to annul it by his own authority.[r] It seemed as if the papacy were to be set up against the pope. Paschal, in the hope of weakening Bruno's influence,

[o] Bruno, who has left extensive commentaries on Scripture, is said to have received his see from Gregory VII. for having overcome Berengar in disputation at the Roman synod of 1079. Patrol. clxiv. 103; Acta SS., Jul. 18, p. 479.

[p] Ep. 23. The right reading is said to be *Vellitrensem* (Card. Aragon. 363), not *Vercellensem*. As Velletri was then joined with Ostia, the bishop was Leo, the author of the earlier Chronicles of Monte Cassino. Stenzel, 648; Wattenbach, Prolog. in Chron. Casin.

[q] Stenzel, 648.

[r] Hard. 1899-1902; W. Malmesb. 661-3; Ekkeh. A.D. 1112; Hefele, v. 285. Godfrey of Viterbo (a writer of little authority) says that the pope stripped off his insignia, and that the council, after having burnt the obnoxious writing, desired him to resume them. Patrol. cxcviii. 985.

obliged him to resign the great abbacy which he held in conjunction with his see ;[s] but such were the strength and the clamour of the party that the pope thought of hiding his shame in a hermitage, and withdrew for a time to the island of the Tiber, from which he only returned to resume his office at the urgent entreaty of the cardinals.[t] While thus pressed on one side by the high ecclesiastical party, he had to resist, on the other side, the desire which the king of England and other princes manifested, that the same privileges which he had granted to the emperor might be extended to themselves.[u]

Paschal was determined to observe his engagement not to excommunicate Henry, although he complained that the emperor had not been equally scrupulous ;[x] and on this head he withstood all importunities. But Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who in the end of 1111 had obtained from him a letter annulling the compact,[y] and had since attended the Lateran synod, drew him into an extraordinary proceeding. In a council held at Vienne, within Henry's own kingdom of Burgundy, in September 1112, the archbishop declared investiture to be a heresy, renewed the Lateran condemnation of the compact, and anathematized the emperor for extorting it and for his other outrages against the pope. He then wrote to Paschal, asking him to confirm the decrees, and announcing that, in case of his refusal, the members of the synod must withdraw their obedience from him.[z]

[s] Chron. Casin. iv. 42.

[t] Hildebert, Ep. ii. 22 (Patrol. clxxi. 235); Suger. Vita Ludov. 9 (ib. clxxxvi. 1272); Neand. vii. 193; Stenzel, 647.

[u] Giesel. II. ii. 59. At an earlier time Anselm had written to him, asking whether it were true that he allowed the king of Germany to invest; and telling him that, if so, the king of England intended to resume the practice (Ep. iii. 152). The pope replied, on Oct. 12, 1008, "We neither have tolerated nor ever will tolerate it. We are waiting until the ferocity of that nation be subdued; but if the king continue in the path of his father's wickedness, he shall without doubt feel the sword of St. Peter, which we have already begun to draw." Ib. 153.

[x] Hard. vi. 1900.

[y] Ep. 24.

[z] Hard. vi. 1913-14. Cf. Hist. Compostell. ii. 9 (Patrol. clxx. 1043).

Thus threatened, the unfortunate pope answered by granting the required confirmation; yet while by this sanction he made the excommunication his own, he considered that, so long as he did not directly pronounce it, he was not guilty of violating his oath.[a]

In the meantime Germany was a scene of great agitation. Henry, as if the cession proposed at Sutri had taken effect, seized on the revenues of many churches and monasteries, assumed an entire control over ecclesiastical affairs, and excited the general detestation of the clergy.[b] Conon, bishop of Palestrina, a cardinal and legate, who was at Jerusalem when he heard of the pope's captivity, immediately pronounced an anathema against the emperor, which he repeated in many cities of Greece, Hungary, Germany, and France.[c] The new primate, Adalbert, the creature of Henry and the adviser of his outrage against the pope, turned against his master under pretence of his being excommunicate, and craftily endeavoured to undermine him. For this Adalbert was imprisoned on a charge of treason, but, after he had been kept in confinement nearly three years, the emperor was obliged to give him up to the citizens of Mentz, when his miserable appearance bore witness to the sufferings and privations which he had endured, and excited general indignation. The archbishop was bent on vengeance; although he had sworn and had given hostages to answer to a charge

A.D. 1114-15.

A.D. 1112.

Oct. 1115.

[a] Hard. vi. 1915.

[b] Frideric. Colon. archiep. ad Otton. Bamberg. (Patrol. clxxiii. 1325); Stenzel, 658, 660.

[c] Hard. vi. 1899, 1925-30. There is a letter from Conon (who was a German by birth) to Frederick of Cologne, desiring him not to heed some persons who said "non pertinere ad vos [nos?] excommunicare regem, quia nec rex nobis commissus, nec de parochia nostra esse videtur." The excommunication, he says, is warranted by the Holy Spirit and by the authority of the Fathers, since St. Ambrose, although neither pope, patriarch, nor legate, excommunicated Theodosius for a crime which was not committed within his diocese. Patrol. clxiii. 1438.

of treason, he cast off the obligation, and became the soul of the anti-imperialist party.[d] Germany was distracted by a civil war, and such was the exasperation of feeling that when, in 1115, the emperor was defeated at Welfesholz, the bishop of Halberstadt refused to allow the burial of his fallen soldiers, under the pretext that they had fought in the cause of an excommunicate person.[e]

In 1116 Henry again crossed the Alps, in order to take possession of the inheritance of Matilda, who had died in the preceding summer, and to counteract some negotiations which aimed at the acknowledgment of Alexius Comnenus, or of some prince of the Byzantine family, as emperor of Rome.[f] His appearance put an end to this scheme, and he seized on all that had belonged to the great countess—on the fiefs in his character of suzerain, and on the allodial territories as heir,[g] —while the pope did not venture even to raise a protest in behalf of the donations by which her possessions had been twice bestowed on the Roman see.[h]

While the emperor was at Venice, in March 1116, Paschal held a council in the Lateran,[i] at which he

[d] Ekkehard, 246; Chron. Halberstadt. ap. Leibn. ii. 122; Cod. Udalrici, 319; Henr. ap. Hahn, Monum. i. 203; Chron. Petersh. iii. 42 (Patrol. cxliii.); Otho Frising. vii. 14. Adalbert was not consecrated until after his release (Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1116). Schmidt calls him the Becket of Germany, ii. 65.

[e] Ekkehard, 252.

[f] Chron. Casin. iv. 46 (A.D. 1112). See Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 141.

[g] His pretensions to this character were very questionable. Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 149; Luden, ix. 456.

[h] Schröckh, xxvi. 65-7. The later donation, of 1102, is in Muratori, v. 384. It has been a question whether Matilda meant to make over her fiefs as well as her other territories to St. Peter. In strictness, they lapsed to the suzerain on her death; and the bull by which Innocent II., in 1133, bestowed her inheritance on the emperor Lothair for life (Ep. 145, Patrol. clxxix.) speaks only of *allodium* (Gregorov. iv. 343; see Hallam, i. 242-3; Stenzel, 668; Luden, ix. 455-8; Giesel. II. ii. 60). Sismondi contends that she did not give her dominions to the pope in sovereignty, but only *jure proprietario*. (Rép. Ital. i. 139.) But if so, where was the sovereignty of her allodial estates to be? There is an essay by Cenni on the donation in Patrol. xcviii. 631, seqq.

[i] One of the subjects was a contest for the see of Milan between Grosolanus and Jordan, in which Grosolanus, whose claim was evidently the better, was set aside. See Landulf. jun. in Patrol. clxxiii.; Murat. VI. ii. 151.

desired the bishops to join with him in condemning the compact which he had executed while Henry's prisoner. On this Bruno of Segni burst forth into triumph at the pope's having with his own mouth condemned his heretical act. "If it contained heresy," exclaimed a member of the council, "then the author of it is a heretic." But cardinal John of Gaeta and others of the more moderate party reproved Bruno for the indecency of his speech, and declared that the writing, although blamable, was not heretical. Conon of Palestrina detailed the anathemas which he had pronounced against the emperor from Jerusalem to France, and asked the approbation of the pope and of the council, which was granted.[k]

On his way to Rome Henry made overtures to the pope—partly in consequence of the impression produced by a dreadful earthquake which took place at the time.[l] Paschal replied that he would himself observe his oath not to excommunicate the emperor; that he had not authorized the excommunications which Conon and another legate had pronounced in Germany; but that decrees passed by the most important members of the church could not be annulled without their consent, and that the only means of remedy was a general council.[m] At the emperor's approach he fled from Rome, and took refuge at Monte Cassino.[n]

Henry arrived at Rome in March 1117. The people received him with acclamations, but the cardinals and clergy stood aloof, and the attempts to negotiate with them were unsuccessful. At the great ceremonies of Easter, the only dignified ecclesiastic connected with the pope who could be found to place the crown on the emperor's head was Maurice Burdinus or Bourdin, a

[k] Ekkehard, A.D. 1116; Hard. vi. 1933-6; Hefele, v. 300-1.

[l] Jan. 3, 1117; Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1117.

[m] Cod. Udalr. 317-18; Chron. Halberst. ap. Leibn. ii. 122; Schröckh, xxvi. 68.

[n] Chron. Casin. iv. 61.

Limousin by birth, and archbishop of Braga in Portugal, who had formerly been employed by Paschal on a mission to the German court.[o] For this act Burdinus was deposed and excommunicated by the pope in a synod at Benevento.[p] But although the clergy in general remained faithful to Paschal, the Romans were discontented with him on account of an appointment to the prefecture of the city, and on his return, after Henry's departure, they refused to admit him. He was only able to get possession of the castle of St. Angelo, where he died on the 21st of January 1118.[q]

The cardinals chose as his successor one of their own number, the deacon John of Gaeta, who had been a monk of Monte Cassino, and had held the chancellorship of the Roman church since the pontificate of Urban.[r] But as the new pope, who took the name of Gelasius II., was receiving homage in the church of a monastery on the Palatine, Cencius Frangipani, one of the most powerful among the Roman nobles, broke in with a troop of armed followers, seized him by the throat, struck and kicked him, wounding him severely with his spurs, dragged him away to his own house, and loaded him with chains. By this outrage the Romans of every party were roused to indignation. Frangipani, like the

Jan. 24, 1118.

[o] Pandulf. Pisan. ap. Murat. iii. 359; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 472-7; Pagi, xviii. 286. See the Hist. Compostell. book i. (Patrol. clxx.); Roder. Toletan. vi. 26 (Rerum Hispan. Scriptores, Francof. 1579, t. i.). The Pölde Annalist says that Burdinus had been convicted of necromancy before Paschal II. Pertz, xvi. 72.

[p] Hard. vi. 1940. "*Burdinus*, diminutivum a *burdone*, quod asinum seu mulum significat." Acta SS., Jan. 6, p. 866.

[q] Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 476-7; Chron. Casin. iv. 60; Falco Benev. in Patrol. clxxiii. 1067; Pand. Pisan. 357.

[r] Chron. Casin. iv. 64; Pand. Pisan. 378; Gregorov. iv. 358. The Hildebrandine party had no great hopes of John, whose behaviour at the council of 1116 has been already related. By Ekkehard he is reckoned among the emperor's partisans (A.D. 1116, Patrol. cliv. 1034). The biographer of Theoger, bishop of Metz, relates that Conrad, bishop of Salzburg, on hearing of the election, exclaimed, "Hem! nullus eorum nequior fuit Joanne; forte in Gelasio poterit aliquid boni esse?" But he adds that the pope changed his ways with his name. Pertz, xii. 470.

PROPERTY OF
THE CHURCH ON THE WAY

The King's Library

Cencius of Gregory VII.'s time, was compelled to release his prisoner, and to cast himself at his knees with an entreaty for pardon; and Gelasius, mounted on a horse, was escorted in triumph to the Lateran.[s] Some weeks later, however, in the dead of night, the rites of his ordination to the priesthood were March 1. interrupted by tidings that the emperor was in Rome, and had possession of St. Peter's. The news of pope Paschal's death had recalled Henry in haste from the north of Italy, with a view to the exertion of the prerogative which he claimed in appointments to the apostolic chair.[t] Gelasius fled, and, after serious dangers both by land and by sea, reached his native city of Gaeta, where the ordination and consecration March 9-10. were completed.[u] The emperor endeavoured to draw him to a conference; but Gelasius, who had been a companion of Paschal's imprisonment, regarded the proposal as a snare, and suggested that their differences should be discussed in a council at Milan or Cremona, where he had reason to hope that he might be safe.[x] The proposal to transfer the important business to these northern cities excited the jealousy of the Romans, to whom Henry caused the pope's letter to be read in St. Peter's; and their spirit was fostered by the celebrated jurist Irnerius, the founder of the law-school of Bologna,[y] who urged them to exert their rights in the election of a pope, agreeably to the ancient canons, which were publicly recited from the pulpit. Under the advice of Irnerius and other lawyers, Burdinus was chosen by the people, and was confirmed by March 8.

[s] Pand. Pisan. 384.

[t] Ib., Stenzel, i. 676.

[u] Pand. Pisan. 389; Falco Benev. 1169; Annal. Rom. 478.

[x] Gelas. Ep. 1, ap. Hard. vi. Gelasius named these cities because they had become independent, and were devoted to the papal interest. Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 163.

[y] See hereafter, c. xiii. sect. Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 82; Savigny iv. 9, seqq.

the emperor, on whose head he again placed the crown at Whitsuntide.[z]

April 7. Gelasius, at a synod at Capua, anathematized the emperor and the antipope, who had assumed the name of Gregory VIII. On returning to Rome he found the people turbulent, and, while celebrating mass in the church of St. Praxedes, was again attacked by the Frangipanis. He declared that he would leave the bloody city—the new Babylon and Sodom; that he would rather have one emperor than many; and his words were hailed with applause by the cardinals. The pope made his way into France, where he was received with honour; and, after having visited several of the principal cities, he was about to hold a council at Reims, when he died at the abbey of Cluny on the 29th of January 1119.[a]

Conon of Palestrina had been selected by Gelasius as his successor, but had suggested to him that Guy, archbishop of Vienne and cardinal of St. Balbina, should be preferred, as more likely, from his character and position, to serve the church effectually.[b] Guy was son of a duke or count of Burgundy, and was related to the sovereigns of Germany, France, and England. The zeal which he had displayed in excommunicating the emperor, and the skill for which he was noted in the conduct of affairs, marked him out as a champion to whom the Hildebrandine party might look with hope and confidence.[c] In consequence of Conon's suggestion,

[z] Chron. Casin. iv. 64; Landulf. jun. c. 32; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 490-3; Stenzel, 678.

[a] Pand. Pisan. 397-8, 414-15; Hugo monach. Cluniac. in Patrol. clxvi. 844; Jaffé, 526. Falco says that Gelasius received presents of immense value (Patrol. clxxiii. 1172), while Orderic tells us that the French churches felt severely the cost of entertaining him.

[b] Falco Benev. l. c. For an account of Conon, or Conrad, see the Hist. Litt. xiii. 30. He died in 1122.

[c] Suger. Vita Ludov. in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1312; Gesta Gelasii ap. Bouquet, xv. 217; Pand. Pisan. 418; Ord. Vital. iv. 335; Chron. Casin. iv. 64; W. Malmesb. 665. Guy has been charged with having forged the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin, for the purpose of

the archbishop was summoned to Cluny; but he did not arrive until after the death of Gelasius.[d] The cardinals, five in number, who had accompanied the late pope from Italy, were unanimous in choosing Guy for his successor; but it was with the greatest unwillingness, and only under condition that his election should be ratified by the Romans,[e] that he was persuaded to accept the office; and when the result of the election became known, the conclave was Feb. 2, 1119. invaded by a body of his kinsmen, retainers, and soldiery, who tore off his pontifical robes, and dragged him away, crying out that they would not part with their archbishop—the Romans might find a pontiff for themselves.[f] The violence of these adherents, however, was, with some difficulty, appeased; the consent of the Romans was readily obtained, and Guy was inaugurated as pope Calixtus II. in his own cathedral at Vienne.[g]

Calixtus spent the spring and the summer of 1119 in

bringing the shrine of St. James at Compostella into repute, and with having afterwards, as pope, anathematized all the older romances about Charlemagne, "and succeeded in thrusting his own forgery on posterity as a real historical document." (Quarterly Rev. cxx. 323.) I have not been able to see the essays in which MM. Genin and Gaston Paris are said to have proved this. But M. Paris, in another work, does not seem to have confidence in the theory (Hist. Poétique de Charlem. 58), and the evidence, in so far as I have been able to examine it, is very unsatisfactory. The oldest statement that can be adduced in favour of it appears to be a somewhat indistinct passage of Rolewinck, who died in 1502 (Chron. A.D. 1124, in Pistor. ii.). The book in recommendation of Compostella is said to be wrongly ascribed to Calixtus (Hist. Litt. in Patrol. clxiii. 1365); and the document by which he is supposed to have sanctioned the pseudo-Turpin, and to have forbidden the older Carolingian stories, is generally regarded as a forgery. See Bayle, Art. *Turpin*, n. C.

[d] Calixt. Ep. 1, ap. Hard. vi.

[e] The chronicle of Maurigny states that the cardinals who remained at Rome had authorized those who accompanied Gelasius to elect a pope in case of a vacancy. Patrol. clxxx. 143.

[f] Hist. Compostell. ii. 9, Patrol. clxx.

[g] See the letters which passed as to the election and confirmation, Martene, Thes. i. 644-9. There seems to be some mistake in Pandulf and Card. Aragon (Murat. iii. 418-19), as the interval between the election and the inauguration (Feb. 2-9, according to Jaffé) allows no time for a reference to the Romans. (See Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 172-3.) Chacon dates the inauguration, "prid. Idus Octobris," when the pope was certainly not at Vienne. See Jaffé, 530.

France, and on the 20th of October he opened at Reims the synod which his predecessor had projected. Fifteen archbishops and more than two hundred bishops were present; among them was the German primate Adalbert, with his seven suffragans and a brilliant train of three hundred knights.[h] There were four bishops from England, whom the king, in giving them permission to attend, had charged not to complain against each other, because he was resolved to do full justice to every complaint within his own kingdom, and had warned not to bring back any "superfluous inventions."[i] The pope, although elected by a handful of exiles, appeared in splendid state,[k] and in all the fulness of his pretensions. Lewis the Fat, who since 1008 had been sole king of France, brought charges before the council against Henry of England for violations of his feudal duty as duke of Normandy, and for his treatment of his brother Robert; and these charges, relating purely to matters of secular policy, he referred to the pope as arbiter.[l] The Norman primate, Godfrey of Rouen, attempted to justify his sovereign, but was put down by the general disapprobation of the assembly.[m]

During the emperor's absence in Italy, Germany had been a prey to anarchy and confusion, and since his return it had been immersed in the horrors of civil war.[n] Conon, after having passed in disguise through the territories occupied by the imperialists, had again

[h] Ord. Vital. iv. 372.

[i] Ib. 373.

[k] Ib. 374-5.

[l] Ib. 376-8. It is to be observed that, according to Orderic, while Lewis dwelt strongly on Robert's sufferings, he said nothing of his having been blinded, as many histories represent him to have been. William of Jumièges (viii. 13, Patrol. cxlix.), William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, l. iv. fin.), Herman of Tournay (De Restaur. S. Martini Tornac. 14, Patrol. clxxx.), and John of Salisbury (Polycrat. l. vi., ib. cxcix. 614), all represent him as treated with the greatest indulgence, and make no mention of blinding; nor does Roger of Wendover, into whose chronicle the story of the blinding was inserted by Matthew Paris (ed. Coxe, v 77).

[m] Order. Vital. iv. 378.

[n] Stenzel, i. 681-6.

appeared, denouncing excommunications against Henry and deposition against all prelates who refused to obey his citations; while Adalbert of Mentz stirred up the Saxons, and consecrated bishops in contempt of the imperial claims.[o] Henry had made overtures for a reconciliation with the pope, and William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons on the Marne, with Pontius, abbot of Cluny, had been sent by Calixtus to confer with him at Strasburg. The bishop assured the emperor that he need not so strongly insist on the privilege of investiture, since in France no such ceremony was then used, and yet he himself performed the duties of feudal service as faithfully as any of his German brethren.[p] The cases were not indeed parallel; for the French sovereigns had always retained a control over the church, which rendered the position of their bishops very unlike that of the great German prelates since the minority of Henry IV. But the emperor professed himself satisfied, and a second commission arranged with him the terms of an accommodation—that he should give up investitures, that bishops should do homage for their royalties, and that he should be released from his excommunication.[q]

The pope left Reims with the intention of meeting the emperor, and sent commissioners before him for the conclusion of the treaty. But the report that Henry had with him a force of 30,000 men raised a feeling of distrust, and Calixtus halted at the castle of Mousson to await the result of the negotiations. A dispute arose between Henry and the commissioners as to the sense of certain articles. The emperor, find- Oct. 22-5.

[o] Hard. vi. 1947; Ekkehard, 257; Vita Theogeri, ii. 3, in Pertz, xii.; Schröckh, xxvi. 83.

[p] Hesso, ap. Hard. vi. 1993 (also in Pertz, xii.). Investiture seems to have fallen into disuse under Philip I., as the king did not assert his privilege, and the great vassals, to whom the investitures more commonly belonged, did not combine against the Roman prohibitions. (Nat. Alex. xiii. 657-9; Sismondi, iv. 54-5.) Planck, however, thinks that the disuse was probably older. IV. ii. 25.

[q] Hesso, 1994.

ing himself strong, was disposed to evade his engagements; he pretended a wish to consult the princes of Germany, and declared that he would not stand barefooted to receive absolution. The commissioners promised to do their utmost that this point might be waived, and that the ceremony should be as private as possible.[r] But on their reporting the negotiations to the pope, he left Mousson in indignation at Henry's conduct, and returned to Reims, where he signalized his arrival by consecrating a popularly-elected bishop for Liege, in opposition to one who had been invested by the emperor.[s] The council passed the usual canons against investiture, simony, and clerical marriage;[t] and on the sixth and last day the church's curse was denounced in the most solemn manner against the emperor and the antipope—each of the bishops and abbots, 427 in number, standing up, with his pastoral staff in one hand, and with a lighted taper in the other. Henry's subjects were declared to be absolved from their allegiance until he should be reconciled to the church.[u]

Oct. 26-30.

In fulfilment of an intention which he had announced at the council, the pope proceeded into Normandy, and held an interview with Henry of England at Gisors.[x] One subject of discussion between them related to the employment of legates. Calixtus himself, while archbishop of Vienne, had been sent by Paschal with the character of legate for all England in 1100, within a few months after Anselm's return from his first exile. His visit caused a great excitement; for, although legates had before appeared in this country,[y] their visits had been very rare, and their authority had been limited to special business, so that an outcry was raised against the new commission

Nov. 20.

[r] Hesso, 1995-6.
[s] Id. 1997: Stenzel, i. 686.
[t] Hard. vi. 1983-6.
[u] Hesso, 1998.
[x] Order. Vital. iv. 382.
[y] See vol. iii. p. 180.

as a thing without example, and it was declared that no one but the archbishop of Canterbury could be acknowledged as a representative of the pope.[z] Anselm asserted the privilege of Canterbury;[a] the legate returned without obtaining a recognition of his power; and the primate procured from the pope, although for his own person only, a promise that no legate should be sent to supersede him.[b] At a later time, the independent character of the English church, and its disposition to settle its own affairs without reference to Rome, were complained of by Paschal II. on the translation of Ralph from Rochester to Canterbury;[c] while the king was offended at Conon's having ventured, as papal legate, to excommunicate the Norman bishops for refusing to attend a council. William of Warelwast, now bishop of Exeter, was once more sent to Rome to remonstrate against Conon's proceedings; and the pope despatched a new legate into England—the abbot Anselm, who was chosen as being nephew of the late archbishop, and as being himself known and popular among the English.[d] But although Henry ordered that the legate should be treated with honour in Normandy, he would not permit him to cross the sea, and sent Ralph himself to Rome, to assert the rights of his primacy. The archbishop was prevented by illness from following the pope, who had withdrawn to Benevento; but he returned with a general and vague confirmation of the privileges of Canterbury.[e]

A.D. 1114.

Another question related to the pretensions of the see

[z] Eadmer, 59; Lappenb. ii. 256.

[a] Ep. iv. 2. [b] Lappenb. ii. 257.

[c] Pasch. Ep. ad Henric. ap. Eadmer. 89; Inett, ii. 132-4.

[d] Eadmer, 88-9. The younger Anselm became abbot of St. Edmund's, at Bury, and in 1137 was elected by a party among the canons of St. Paul's as bishop of London; but the pope (Innocent II.) annulled the election. See Collier, ii. 216-17.

[e] Pasch. Ep. 30 (Hard. vi. 1795); Eadmer, 91; W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. 1508. Wilkins (i. 377, seqq.) misdates some documents connected with this affair.

of York. Anselm, in the beginning of the reign, had exacted from Gerard, on his translation to the northern archbishoprick, a promise of the same subjection to Canterbury which he had sworn when consecrated as bishop of Hereford.[f] The next archbishop of York, Thomas, renewed the pretensions which his predecessor of the same name had raised in opposition to Lanfranc;[g] but the measures which Anselm took to defeat him were successful, although Anselm did not himself live to witness their success.[h] Thurstan, who was nominated to York in 1114, declined to receive consecration at Canterbury, from an unwillingness to swear subjection to the archbishop; and, in violation both of his own solemn promise and of assurances which the pope had given to Henry, he contrived to get himself consecrated by Calixtus at Reims, before the arrival of a bishop who was specially charged to prevent his consecration, although the English bishops who were present protested against it.[i]

A.D. 1009.

The pope was easily satisfied with the explanations which Henry gave of his behaviour towards Robert and the king of France.[k] He promised that no legate should be sent into England except at the king's request, and for the settlement of such things as could not be settled by the English bishops;[l] and he requested that Thurstan might be allowed to return to England. The king replied that he had sworn to the contrary. "I am apostolic pontiff," said Calixtus, and

[f] Rog. Hoveden, 270. The Dominican Stubbs, writing in the interest of York, denies that Gerard made a profession when translated. (Twysd. 1710.) See Raine, i. 159-61.

[g] See chap. v.

[h] Eadmer, 80, seqq.; Raine, i. 164-7.

[i] Eadm. 90, 94; Flor. Vigorn. ii. 73; Rog. Hoveden, 273. For the York account of the affair, see Stubbs, 1715.

[k] W. Malmesb. 634; Order. Vital. iv. 400-4.

[l] Eadmer, 94. Lingard (ii. 45) affects to question this compact. But his only ground is that the pope soon broke it. William Rufus is said to have obtained "ne legatus Romanus ad Angliam mitteretur, nisi quem rex præciperet." Hugo Flavin. A.D. 1096 (Patrol. cliv. 353).

offered to release him from the oath; but Henry, after consideration, declined to avail himself of the absolution, as being unworthy of a king, and an example which would tend to produce universal distrust between men; and he refused to readmit Thurstan, except on condition that he should make the same submission to Canterbury which had been made by his predecessors.[m]

Having established his authority to the north of the Alps, the pope proceeded into Italy. His rival Burdinus, abandoned by the emperor, fled from Rome at the approach of Calixtus and took refuge within the walls of Sutri.[n] St. Peter's, which had been strongly fortified, was given up to the friends of Calixtus in consideration of a sum of money.[o] Burdinus himself was betrayed into the hands of the pope, and, after having been paraded about Rome, mounted on a camel, arrayed in bloody sheepskins[p] by way of a pontifical robe, and holding the camel's tail in his hands, April 1121.

[m] Eadmer, 95; Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1119, ap. Twysd. 242. The pope, in 1121, threatened to interdict all England, unless Thurstan were allowed to return within a month; and the archbishop was admitted on condition that he should refrain from officiating beyond his diocese until he should have satisfied the claims of Canterbury (Eadm. 101). The next archbishop of Canterbury, William, summoned Thurstan to Rome, where the question between the sees was discussed, but without any decisive result (Sym. Dunelm. 250, A.D. 1127; Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1121, 1123, 1126). A letter of Honorius II., however, dated in 1125, is favourable to York (Ep. 29, Patrol. clxvi.). The history of the controversy need not be here pursued. Roger, archbishop of York from 1154 to 1181, maintained the pretensions of his see against Thomas Becket and his successor in the archbishoprick of Canterbury, Richard, claiming some dioceses for the northern province. For his misbehaviour in seating himself in the southern archbishop's lap at a council held by a legate in 1175, see Benedict. Petrib. ed. Hearne, p. 106; Gervas. Dorob. ap. Twysden, 1433. Many letters of Alexander III. (Patrol. cc.) relate to these disputes.

[n] Calixt. Ep. 131 (Patrol. clxiii.).

[o] Gregorov. iv. 373, from a Vatican MS.

[p] So it is stated in the Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 479, and by the Cardinal of Aragon (Murat. iii. 420). Suger says *goatskins* (Vita Ludov. in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1313), William of Tyre a *bearskin* (xii. 8, Patrol. cci.), and Dean Milman a *hogskin* (iii. 212), while the Annalist of Pölde describes the antipope as riding naked (Pertz, xvi. 72). His punishment was commemorated by a picture in the Lateran palace. Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 59 (Patrol. cxcix. 39); Guill. de Nangis, ap. Dacher. Spicil. iii. 2

he was thrust into a monastic prison. He lived to an advanced age, but his remaining years were varied only by removals from one place of confinement to another.[q]

In the meantime the discords of Germany were unabated. Hostile armies moved about the country—the one commanded by the emperor, the other by the primate Adalbert, to whom the pope had given a commission as legate:[r] and it seemed as if their differences must be decided by bloodshed. But circumstances had arisen which tended to suggest a compromise. The contest of fifty years had exhausted all parties, and a general desire for peace began to be felt. The princes of Germany had come to see how their own interest was affected by the rival pretensions of the papacy and the crown. While desirous to maintain themselves against the emperor, and to secure what they had won for their order, they had no wish to subject him, and consequently themselves, to the pope—to degrade their nationality, to lose all hold on the offices and endowments of the church. Thus patriotic and selfish motives concurred in rendering the leaders of the laity desirous to find some means of accommodation.[s] And from France, where the difficulty as to investiture had not been felt, persuasives to moderation were heard. There the learned canonist Ivo, bishop of Chartres, had throughout maintained the lawfulness of investiture by laymen, provided that it were preceded by a canonical election. He held that the form of the ceremony was indifferent, inasmuch as the lay lord did not pretend to confer any gift of a spiritual kind; that, although it was schismatical and heretical to maintain the necessity of lay investiture, yet such investiture was in itself no

[q] Chron. Casin. iv. 68, 86; Will. Tyr. xii. 8; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 513. Burdinus died at the Benedictine monastery of La Cava, near Salerno, as to which see Mabill. Annal. iv. 315-17.

[r] Baron. 1121. 6.

[s] Planck, IV. i. 310; Stenzel, i. 688, 701.

heresy.[t] Ivo strongly reprobated the agitation excited by the Hildebrandine party against Paschal, and he was able to persuade the archbishop of Sens, with other prelates, to join him in a formal protest against the councils which took it on themselves to censure the pope.[u] Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, Hugh, a monk of Fleury, and other eminent ecclesiastics gave utterance to somewhat similar views;[x] and at length abbot Godfrey of Vendome—who had been long known as one of the most uncompromising asserters of the ecclesiastical claims, and had published two tracts in which he declared lay investiture to be heresy[y]—sent forth a third tract, composed in an unexpected spirit of conciliation. Laymen, he said, may not confer the staff and the ring, since these are for the church to give; but there are two kinds of investiture—the one, which makes a bishop, the other, which maintains him; and princes may without offence give investiture to the temporalities by some symbol, after canonical election and consecration. Godfrey speaks strongly against the mischief of contentiousness on either side, and (in direct contradiction to the Hildebrandine principle that kings ought to be treated by the church as freely as other men) he quotes St. Augustine's opinion that one ought seldom or never to be excommunicated who is backed by an obstinate multitude, "lest, while we strive to correct one, it become the ruin of many."[z]

The effect of such writings was widely felt, and contributed to swell the general eagerness for peace. As

[t] Ivo, Epp. 60 (A.D. 1097 or 1099; see Pagi, xviii. 97, 190, and Juret's notes), 233, &c. (Patrol. clxii.).

[u] Ep. 236. Ivo died in 1117. Pagi, xviii. 291.

[x] Hildeb. Ep. ii. 22 (Patrol. clxxi.); Hugo de regia Potestate et sacerd. Dignitate, 5 (ib. clxiii.); Giesel. II. ii. 50.

[y] Opuscula, ii.-iii. The ring and staff, he says, when given by those who are entitled to give them, are sacraments; therefore the giving of them by laymen is heretical. Comp. Ep. iii. 11 (Patrol. clvii.).

[z] Opusc. iv. ibid. 220.

the hostile armies of the Germans were encamped in the neighbourhood of Würzburg, negotiations were opened between them. The preliminaries were settled in October 1121; a formal compact was then drawn up by commissioners at Mentz; and on the 23rd of September 1122, the terms of the agreement between the empire and the hierarchy were read before a vast multitude assembled in a meadow near Worms.[a] On the pope's part, it was stipulated that in Germany the elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the king, without simony or violence; if any discord should arise, the king, by the advice of the metropolitan and his suffragans, was to support the party who should be in the right. The bishop *elect* was to receive the temporalities of his see by the sceptre, and was bound to perform all the duties attached to them. In other parts of the emperor's dominions, the bishop was, within six months after *consecration*, to receive the temporalities from the sovereign by the sceptre, without any payment, and was to perform the duties which pertained to them.[b] The emperor, on his part, gave up all investiture by ring and staff, and engaged to allow free election and consecration throughout his dominions; he restored to the Roman church all possessions and royalties which had been taken from it since the beginning of his father's reign, and undertook to assist towards the recovery of such as were not in his own hands.[c] These conditions were solemnly exchanged at Worms; the legate, Lambert, cardinal of Ostia, celebrated mass, and gave the kiss of peace to the emperor;[d] and in the following year the concordat of Worms was ratified by the first council of the Lateran, which in the

Mar. 1123.

[a] Ekkeh. 260: Stenzel, i. 706. Although this agreement is usually styled the *concordat* of Worms, that word was not used until long after, having first appeared at the council of Constance, A.D. 1418. Mejer, in Herzog, iii. 62.

[b] Pertz, Leges, ii. 75. [c] Ib. 76.

[d] Ekkeh. 260.

Roman church is reckoned as the Ninth General Council.[e] The contest, which for half a century had agitated Italy and Germany, was ended for a time.

The apparent simplicity of the solution—although, indeed, its terms contained the seeds of future differences as to their interpretation[f]—strikes us with surprise, as contrasted with the length and the bitterness of the struggle. But in truth circumstances had disposed both parties to welcome a solution which at an earlier time would have been rejected. The question of investitures had on Gregory's part been a disguise for the desire to establish a domination over temporal sovereigns; on the part of the emperors, it had meant the right to dispose of ecclesiastical dignities and to exercise a control over the hierarchy. Each party had now learnt that its object was not to be attained; but it was not until this experience had reduced the real question within the bounds of its nominal dimensions that any accommodation was possible.[g]

The emperor ceded the power of nomination to bishopricks, and, as to those which were beyond the limits of Germany, he appears to have given up all control over the appointments. But in Germany it was otherwise. The imperial claim to nominate was, indeed, acknowledged to be unlawful; but as this had never been defended on grounds of law, and as the provision that bishops should be chosen in the presence of the emperor or of his commissioners allowed the exercise of an important influence in the choice, the emperor's legal prerogative was really rather increased than lessened. And as, in the case of German bishops, the investiture was to precede consecration,[h] there was thus an opportunity of

[e] Hard. vi. 1115-16; or Pertz, Leges, ii.

[f] See Luden, ix. 527.

[g] Stenzel, i. 289-90; Milman, iii. 216.

[h] This appears from the opposition between *electus* in the case of German bishops, and *consecratus* in that of others.

interposing a bar to the promotion of any person unacceptable to the sovereign. The right of exacting homage was unquestioned, and, by a mere change in the outward symbol, the emperor secured the substance of the investiture—that the bishops should be vassals of the crown, not of the papacy; that they should be subject to the feudal obligations, and that the connection of the church with the state should be maintained.[i]

On the part of the pope, the concordat appears to be a serious sacrifice. Urged by the representations of the German estates, both lay and ecclesiastical, who told him that, if peace were not made, the responsibility would rest on him,[k] he had ceded the pretensions of Gregory and Urban as to investitures and homage; the condition on which Godfrey of Vendome had insisted in his conciliatory proposals—that consecration should precede investiture—was relinquished as to German bishopricks; and the party of which Calixtus had hitherto been the foremost representative was deeply dissatisfied with the terms of the compromise.[l] But his consent to these terms is to be explained by the change which had taken place in the position of the papacy since Hildebrand entered on his career. The imperial claim to control elections to St. Peter's chair was abandoned,[m] and whereas Henry III. had aimed at making himself master of the hierarchy, his son and his grandson had found it a sufficient labour to defend themselves against its encroachments.[n] The bold assertions of Gregory, continued by his successors, and, above all, the great move-

[i] Schmidt, ii. 505; Planck, IV. i. 300-2; Schröckh, xxvi. 88-90; Hallam, M. A. i. 544-5, Suppl. Notes, 195; Raumer, i. 203-5; Döllinger, ii. 167; Stenzel, i. 705-9; Hefele, v. 335-8. Gerhoch complains that the emperor's concessions were useless so long as prelates were obliged to receive the regalia from the sovereign, and draws a strange parallel with the restoration of the ark by the Philistines. De Ædif. Dei, 2 (Patrol. cxciv. 1201).

[k] Planck, IV. i. 365.

[l] Giesel. II. ii. 65.

[m] Stenzel, i. 709.

[n] Luden, ix. 496.

ment of the crusades, had raised the pope to a height before unknown; and, when on the whole his substantial gain had been so great, he could afford to purchase the credit of moderation by yielding in appearance and in matters of detail.[o]

CHAPTER VII.

MONASTICISM—NEW ORDERS—THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS.

In the history of Monasticism, decay and reformation are continually alternating. This alternation is a natural result of laying down as a permanent rule for a numerous succession of men the system which has been found to meet the particular circumstances of a few. When the rule has been some time in operation, no test that can be established by requiring a profession of vocation will be found effectual for the exclusion of unqualified persons; and, even where there are the same dispositions which orginally gave birth to the rule and won popularity for it, the difference of times or circumstances may render it no longer suitable as a discipline for them. Hence, as a great monk of the twelfth century remarked, it was easier to found new religious societies than to reform the old.[a] Moreover, as the poverty and devotion of monks never failed to bring them wealth and honour, the effect of these was too commonly a temptation to abandon the virtues by which they had been procured.[b]

[o] Planck, IV. i. 311-13.

[a] Pet. Cluniac. Ep. i. 23 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

[b] "Devotio nempe peperit divitias, nam fideles monachorum devotionem, celibem cultum, sanctam in Domino conversationem attendentes, plurima bona monasteriis largiti sunt pro redemtione peccatorum suorum. Quibus copiosissime exuberantibus, cœperunt fratres his uti non ad solam necessitatem, sed ad superfluitatem. Inde super-

The spirit which produced the endeavour to reform the church led at the same time to a reform of monachism; and the anarchy, the insecurity, the manifold miseries of the age tended to excite an enthusiasm for the life which promised tranquillity and the opportunities of conversing with a better world.[c] Bernold of Constance tells us that, in the great distractions between the papacy and the empire, multitudes rushed into the monasteries of Germany; that some who had been counts and marquises chose to be employed in the lowest offices, such as baking and cooking; that many, without putting on the monastic habit, devoted themselves to the service of certain monasteries; that many young women renounced marriage, and that the whole population of some towns adopted a monastic system of life.[d]

Among the reformers of German monachism, the most eminent was William, who in 1071 was promoted from the priory of St. Emmeran's, at Ratisbon, to the

fluitas ipsa minime resecata neque coercita fastum generavit atque superbiam, aliaque quamplurima mala, quæ sunt potius reticenda quam dicenda: quod cernentes fideles, et maxime principes ac domini temporales, non tantum manus retraxerunt ab eleemosynis ipsis largiendis, sed et ipsos persequi cœperunt, eorum possessiones vi, malitiâ, calliditate, fraude, processu dissipando, hoc ipsum Deo permittente ad eorum correctionem; unde quidam coacti et inviti, quidam autem voluntarii ad amorem redierunt paupertatis, resecantes superflua in victu et vestitu, lautitiis, ædificiis, equitaturis, et aliis monasticæ professioni omnino impertinentibus; demum in humilitate et simplicitate degentes. Quod rursum cernentes fideles, pristinam, quam dudum erga monasteria habuerant, resumserunt devotionem, et cœperunt eis non solum benefacere, sed et ipsos contra impugnantes tueri atque defendere. Hæc principalis causa profectus seu defectus in monasteriis. Sunt et aliæ causæ quas omitto, non tamen sine ratione." (Anonymus Cartusiensis de Religionum Origine, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 31-2.) Dante represents St. Benedict as saying in Paradise,—

"La carne de' mortali è tanto blanda,
Che giù non basta buon cominciamento
Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
Pier cominciò senz' oro e senza argento,
E io con orazione e con digiuno,
E Francesco umilmente il suo convento,
E se guardi al principio di ciascuno,
Poscia riguardi là dov' è trascorso,
Tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno," etc.
Paradiso, xxii. 85-93.

[c] Luden, ix. 190. Hanno of Cologne and other prelates brought monks from Fructuaria, Cluny, etc., for the reform of German monachism. Lambert, A.D. 1075 (Patrol. cxlvi. 1204-5).

[d] A.D. 1083, 1091, ap. Pertz, v. As to the anti-imperialist turn which monasticism took in Germany about the time of Hildebrand, see Giesebr. iii. 409.

abbacy of Hirschau, in the Black Forest. He raised the number of inmates from fifteen to a hundred and fifty, founded some new monasteries, reformed more than a hundred, and united his monks into a congregation after the pattern of Cluny, adopting the system of lay-brethren from Vallombrosa.[e] The virtues of William were not limited to devotion, purity of life, and rigour of discipline; he is celebrated for his gentleness to all men, for his charity to the poor, for the largeness of his hospitality, for his cheerful and kindly manners, for his encouragement of arts and learning. He provided carefully for the transcription of the holy scriptures and of other useful books, and instead of locking them up in the library of his abbey, he endeavoured to spread the knowledge of their contents by presenting copies to members of other religious houses. The sciences included in the *quadrivium*, especially music and mathematics, were sedulously cultivated at Hirschau, and under William the monks were distinguished for their skill in all that relates to the ornament of churches—in building, sculpture, painting, carving of wood, and working in metals. In the general affairs of the church, the abbot of Hirschau was, by his exertions and by his influence, one of the most active and powerful supporters of the hierarchical or Hildebrandine party in Germany. He died in 1091, at the age (as is supposed) of sixty-five.[f]

[e] Heymo, Vita Will. Hirsang. 22-3; ap. Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. ix.; MabiH. ib, 717-19; Bolland. Acta SS., Jul. 4; Kerker, 'Wilhelm der Selige,' Tübing. 1863. It was for William's use that Ulric, a monk of Cluny, put into writings the customs of his order (Patrol. cxlix. 635, 653). William's 'Constitutiones Hirsaugienses,' and his work on music are in the Patrologia, vol. cl. His treatise on astronomy was published at Basel in 1531. (See Kerker, 333). For the reformation of Petershusen by his disciples, see Chron Petersh. 53 (Patrol. cxliii.).

[f] Bernold. A.D. 1091; ap. Pertz. v.; Trithem. Chron. Hirsang. (Opera Histor. ii. 60, seqq.); Voigt, 'Hildebrand,' 140; Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 327-32; Kerker; Giesebr. iii. 630, seqq. John of Trittenheim tells us that Anselm of Canterbury, in his return from Rome, spent some days with William at Hirschau, and afterwards kept up a correspondence with him, of which one letter is given as a specimen (Chron.

The congregation of Cluny, which had led the way in the reformation of an earlier period, maintained its pre-eminence under the sixty years' abbacy of Hugh, whose influence in the affairs of the church has often been mentioned in the preceding chapters. The Cluniacs received additions to their privileges: Paschal exempted them from the operation of such interdicts as might be pronounced against any province in which they should be;[g] Calixtus, on a visit to the great monastery in 1120, conferred on its abbots the dignity of the Roman cardinalate.[h] But under Hugh's successor, Pontius, to whom this honour was granted, dissensions and scandals arose in the order. The abbot, on finding that he was charged at Rome with dissipating the property of his monastery, hurried to the pope, resigned his office, and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, with the intention, as he professed, of spending the remainder of his days there; but he afterwards returned to disturb the peace of the monastery.[i] Another Hugh was appointed in his

A.D. 1049-1109.

A.D. 1122.

Hirsaug. A.D. 1077); and in this the fifteenth-century writer has been followed without suspicion by the late biographer of the abbot (Kerker, 98). But whereas William died in 1091, Anselm did not become archbishop until 1093, and his return from Rome to Lyons, after his difference with William Rufus, was in 1099. Moreover, on comparing the letter as it appears in Trithemius with the copy in the collection of Anselm's epistles (Ep. i. 56), we find that it has been altered in favour of the Hirschau story. Thus, "frater Anselmus" becomes "Anselmus, Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister indignus," and "de qua [congregatione vestra] multa bona a multis concorditer audio" becomes "de qua multa bona *vidi*, et a multis majora quotidie concorditer audio." It would seem, therefore, that the letter was written by Anselm when abbot of Bec, without any personal knowledge of William or of his community; and that, if the archbishop visited Hirschau,—which is not impossible, as, in order to escape the snares of the antipapalists, he had to make his way from Rome to Lyons, "per montuosa et saltuosa loca" (W. Malmesb., Gesta Pontiff., Patrol. clxxix. 1495; cf. Eadm., ib clviii. 104; clix. 421)—it was in the time of William's successor.

[g] Ep. 66, ap. Hard. vi.

[h] Hugo monach. Cluniac. in Patrol. clxvi. 845; Hist. Compostell. ii. 14 (ib. clxx.); Ciacon. i. 949.

[i] Pet. Cluniac. de Miraculis, ii. 12; Chron. Cluniac. ap. Bouquet, xii. 313-15. According to the 'History of Compostella' (ii. 9), Pontius had been recommended by Gelasius II. at the same time with Guy of Vienne (Calixtus),

room, but died within three months: and on the renewed vacancy the order again chose a head who sustained the greatness of its reputation—Peter Maurice, "the Venerable." The Vallombrosan, Camaldolite, and other communities were also still in vigour;[k] but the piety of the age was not content with adding to the numbers enrolled under the rules which already existed, and during the fifty years which followed the election of Gregory VII. several orders took their beginning. Although the founders of these were not all of French birth, it was in France, which had become the centre of religious and intellectual movement, that the new institutions arose.[l]

I. The earliest of them was the order of Grammont. The founder, Stephen, son of a count of Thiers in Auvergne, was born about 1045.[m] His parents, who believed him to have been granted to them in return for many prayers and other exercises of devotion, were careful to train him religiously from his infancy, and at the age of twelve he accompanied his father on a pilgrimage to the relics of St. Nicolas, which had lately been translated from Myra, in Lycia, to Bari, in the south of Italy.[n] Stephen fell ill at Benevento, and was left there in the care of the archbishop, Milo, who was his countryman, and perhaps a kinsman.[o] The praises which the arch-

whose kinsman and godson he was, as a fit successor to the papacy. On his return from the east he attempted to recover the abbacy of Cluny by means of an armed force, was excommunicated, and died under the sentence. But pope Honorius II., in consideration of the dignity which he had held, allowed him to be honourably buried (Ep. 55, Patrol. clxvi.); and Orderic, who is partial to him, says that miracles were wrought at his grave (iv. 298, 299, 386, 424-7). Some martyrologies even make him a saint! (Schröckh, xxvii. 242). Comp. Pet. Clun. l. c.; Honor. II. Epp. 44-6, 48; Chron. Casin. iv. 75; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1117; Baron. Ann. 1125, with Pagi's notes; Sym Dunelm. Ann. 1122, col. 245; Mabill. Annales, v. 530, vi. 78; Hist. Litt. xi. 23; Hefele, v. 298.

[k] Schröckh, xxvii. 241.

[l] Giesebr. iii. 1011.

[m] Life, by Gerard, seventh prior of Grammont, c. 1 (Patrol. cciv.); Pagi, xviii. 402.

[n] Gerard, 1.

[o] Ib. 2-5. There are chronological difficulties as to this. See n. on Gerard

bishop bestowed on an ascetic society of monks in Calabria excited the boy to resolve on embracing the monastic life, and he steadily adhered to his resolution.[p] After having spent four years at Rome, he obtained, in the first year of Gregory's pontificate, the papal sanction for the formation of a new order—a document in which Gregory bestows on him his blessing, and expresses a wish that he may find companions innumerable as the stars of heaven.[q]

May 1, 1074.

Before proceeding to act on this privilege, Stephen paid a farewell visit to his parents, but ended it by secretly leaving his home, with a determination never to return, and took up his abode at Muret, near Limoges, where he built himself a hut of branches of trees in a rocky and wooded solitude. Here, putting on a ring, the only article which he had reserved out of his property, he solemnly devoted himself to the holy Trinity and to the virgin Mother.[r] The rigour of his diet was extreme; he wore an iron cuirass, like Dominic of Fonte Avellano, and over it a thin dress, which was alike throughout all the changes of the season; his bed was formed of boards sunk in the earth, so that it resembled a grave, nor did he allow himself even straw to soften it; his devotional exercises were frequent, and such was his fervour that, while engaged in them, he sometimes forgot food and sleep for days together.[s] He always prayed kneeling, and his prayers were accompanied by frequent obeisances and kissing of the earth, so that not only did his hands

8; Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf. 21; Bouquet, xiii. 456; Hist. Litt. x. 411-12.

[p] Gerard, 6-7; Mabill. Annal. v. 65-7.

[q] Gerard, 8-10. The document (ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. IX. xxxvi.) is not unsuspected (Mabill. Annal. v. 66; Hist. Litt. x. 411; Schröckh, xxvii. 298). Martene not only rejects it, but dates the origin of the order so late as about 1100, and supposes the Calabrian hermits, from whom Stephen took his impulse, to have been the Carthusians who settled in Calabria under Urban II. (see below, p. 40), Coll. Ampl. vi. Pref. 22-7. But his reasoning is very unsatisfactory.

[r] Gerard, 11-13.

[s] Ib. 16-19.

and knees become callous like those of a camel, but his nose was bent by the effect of his prostrations.[t]

After a year, during which he was known only to the neighbouring shepherds, Stephen was joined by two companions; and the number was soon increased. His disciples were treated with an indulgence which he denied to himself, and he desired them to call him not abbot or master, but corrector.[u] It was believed that he had the power of reading their hearts;[x] tales are related of miracles which he did, and of the wonderful efficacy of his prayers; and a sweet odour was perceived to proceed from his person by those who conversed with him.[y] After having spent fifty years in his retirement, Stephen died in 1124.[z]

At his death, the place where he had so long lived unmolested was claimed by a neighbouring monastery. His disciples, unwilling to engage in any contention, prayed for direction in the choice of another habitation; and as they were at mass, the answer was given by a heavenly voice, which thrice pronounced the words—"To Grammont!" The new home thus pointed out was but a league distant, and the monks removed to it, carrying with them the relics of their founder.[a] They studiously concealed the spot where the body was deposited; but its presence was betrayed by a great number of miracles. On this the prior addressed the spirit of his former master in a tone of complaint and

[t] Gerard, 20-2.

[u] Id. 23; Schröckh, xxvii. 302.

[x] Ger. 26. [y] Id. 20-31.

[z] Mabill. Annal. vi. 116; Schröckh, xxvii. 303. It is said that his death was immediately known by miracle at Tours and at Vézelay (Gerard, 44). There is a story that Stephen left behind him a chest which no one had been allowed to look into while he was alive. The monks at his death broke it open with eager curiosity, but found only a paper, with these words, "Frater Stephanus, fundator ordinis Grandis Montis, salutat fratres suos, et supplicat ut observent se a sæcularibus. Quia sicut vos, dum nesciebatis quid erat in cista, habuistis eam in honore, sic et ipsi vos." Thom. de Eccleston, in Monum. Franciscana, ed. Brewer (Chron. and Mem.), 60.

[a] Ger. 47-50.

reproach, threatening that, if Stephen continued to regard his own fame for sanctity so as to turn the solitude of his disciples into a fair, his relics should be thrown into the river; and from that time the saint was content to exert his miraculous power in such a manner as not to expose his followers to the distractions which had before endangered their quiet and their humility. Sixty-five years after his death, he was canonized by Clement III.[b]

Although, in the privilege which Gregory had granted to Stephen, it was supposed that the Benedictine rule would be observed by the new order, the discipline of the Grandimontans was more severe than that of St. Benedict. Stephen professed that his only rule was that of Christian religion,[c] and the code of his order was unwritten until the time of his third successor, Stephen of Lisiac (A.D. 1141).[d] Obedience and poverty are laid down as the foundations.[e] The monks were to accept no payment for Divine offices: they were to possess no churches, and no lands beyond the precincts of their monasteries;[f] nor were they allowed to keep any cattle —"for," it is said, "if ye were to possess beasts, ye would love them, and for the love which ye would bestow on beasts, so much of Divine love would be withdrawn from you."[g] They were never to go to law for such property as might be bestowed on them.[h] The founder assured them on his death-bed that, if they kept themselves from the love of earthly things, God would not fail to provide for them; when reduced to such necessity as to have had no food for two days, they

[b] A.D. 1189. Id. 55; Schröckh, xxvii. 304-5.

[c] Prol. in Sententias (Patrol. cciv. 1085).

[d] Mabillon, Annal. v. 100. Martene, who prints the rule in his ivth volume 'De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus,' maintains there (306) and in Mabillon, vi. 117, that it was written by the founder. He gives other statutes of the order in tha volume, and in the 'Thesaurus,' iv. 1231, seqq.

[e] Cc. 1-3, in Martene, or Patrol. cciv.

[f] Cc. 4-5. [g] C. 7. [h] Cc. 23, 31.

might send out brethren to beg, but these were bound to return as soon as they had secured one day's provisions.[i] They were to go out in parties of two or more; they were not to fall into company with travellers, and were to avoid castles.[k] They must not leave the wilderness to preach; their life there was to be their true sermon.[l] Their monasteries were to be strictly shut against all but persons of great authority; they were charged altogether to shun intercourse with women.[m] Even the sick were forbidden to taste flesh; but they were to be carefully tended, and, rather than that they should lack what they needed, even the ornaments of the church were to be sold.[n] The members of the order were bound to silence at times, and were to communicate by signs, of which a detailed system is laid down;[o] and it was directed that when they spoke, their discourse must be of an edifying kind. The monks were to devote themselves entirely to spiritual things, while their temporal affairs were to be managed by "bearded" or lay brethren.[p]

Under Stephen of Lisiac the order of Grandimontans, or "Good men," as they were popularly called,[q] became numerous; and eventually it had about 140 "cells," subject to the "prior" of the mother community. So long as the austerity of its discipline remained, it enjoyed a high reputation;[r] but the relaxations of its rules, although sanctioned by popes,[s] and internal

[i] C. 13.
[k] C. 52.
[l] C 48.
[m] C. 39. [n] Cc. 56-7.
[o] Martene, 'De Ant. Eccl. Rit.' iv. 339, seqq.
[p] C. 54. See Ducange, s. v. *Barbati.*
[q] "Si ab eis quæsieris cujus ordinis sunt, respondent, *Peccatores sumus;* si ab aliis, Bonoshomines esse dicunt." Steph. Tornac. Ep. 61 (Patrol. ccxi.). Cf. Mabill. Annal. vi. 117; Ducange, s. vv. *Boni Homines.* Their monasteries were called *Bonihominiæ.* Patrol. ccix. 1001; ccxi. 368.
[r] See, *e.g.*, Petr. Cellens. Ep. 54 (Patrol. ccii.); Joh. Sarisb. Polycrat. vii. 23 (ib. cxcix.); Gir. Cambr., Spec. Eccles. iii. 21.
[s] Especially by Innocent IV. A.D. 1245. See Martene, 'De Ant. Eccl. Rit.' iv. 327, seqq.

quarrels between the monks and the lay brethren,[t] led to its decline.[u]

II. Ten years later than the order of Grammont, that of the Carthusians was founded by Bruno, a native of Cologne, who had been distinguished as master of the cathedral school at Reims.[x] The popular legend ascribes his retirement from the world to a scene which he is supposed to have witnessed at Paris, on the death of a doctor who had been greatly esteemed for piety as well as for learning. As the funeral procession was on its way to the grave, the corpse (it is said) raised itself from the bier, and uttered the words, "By God's righteous judgment I am accused!" The rites were suspended for a day; and when they were resumed, the dead man again exclaimed, "By God's righteous judgment I am judged!" A second time the completion of the ceremony was deferred; but on the third day the horror of the spectators was raised to a height by his once more lifting up his ghastly head, and moaning forth, in a tone of the deepest misery, "By God's righteous judgment I am condemned!" Bruno, struck with terror, and filled with a sense of the nothingness of human reputation by this awful revelation as to one who had been so highly venerated, resolved, as the only means of safety, to hide himself in the desert.[y]

[t] Steph. Tornac Epp. 134-5, 138, 143-4; Supplem. Epp. 2-3 (Patrol. ccxi.; Innoc. III. Ep. iv. 3 (ib. ccxiv.); Fleury's last Discourse, sect. 5; Acta SS., Feb. 8, pp. 201-2. The discords of this order became a byword; thus Innocent warns the Cistercians against dissension, "ne forte, sicut Grandimontenses, in derisum et fabulam incidatis." Ep. v. 109; cf. Honor. III. ap. Raynald. 1219-57.

[u] Anon. Cartus. (of the 15th century) ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 34; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. IX. xxxv.; Schröckh, xxvii. 306-9; Baluz. Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion. i. 137, 138; Acta SS. Feb. 8, p. 201.

[x] Hist. Litt. ix. 233. Mabillon (Acta SS. Ben. VIII., Præf. 3; ix. 38) holds it a mistake to suppose him a pupil of Berengar. But on the other side, see the Bollandist Acta SS., Oct. 6, p. 504.

[y] Vita Antiquior, 1-8 (Patrol. cliii.); Puteanus, 4-13 (ib.). The story of the doctor is told, with some variety of circumstances, by Cæsarius of Heisterbach in the 13th century (Dialog. xi. 49); but the earliest writer who con-

Such was the tale which was adopted by the Carthusian order ;[z] but the real motives of Bruno's withdrawal appear to have been partly a conviction of the unsatisfying nature of worldly things,[a] and partly a wish to escape from the tyranny of Manasses, archbishop of Reims, a violent, grasping, and ambitious prelate, whose character may be inferred from a saying recorded of him—that "The archbishoprick of Reims would be a fine thing, if one had not to sing masses for it."[b] By the advice of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, Bruno with six companions took up his abode among the wild and solemn rocky solitudes of the Chartreuse, from which his order derived its name ;[c] and so much was the bishop pleased with the system, that he often withdrew for a time from the world, to live with the Carthusians in the strict observance of their usages.[d] The community, to which no one was admitted under the age of twenty, consisted of monks and lay brethren ; the number of the former being limited

nects it with St. Bruno is John of Ypres, in the 14th century (Chron. S. Bertini, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 581 ; Acta S. Brun. in Patrol. clii. 130 ; Hist. Litt. ix. 236). The tale afterwards became popular through the mention of it by Gerson (De Simplific. Cordis, 23, Opera, iii. 466), and was expanded and embellished by many writers. At one time it was in the Roman Breviary, but it was expunged at the revision under Urban VIII. Launoy fully exposes it in his tract, 'De Vera Causa Secessus S. Brunonis in Eremum' (Opera, vii. ed. Paris, 1662, 8vo.), where the various forms of it are given ; he makes, however, the mistake of saying (90) that the earliest authority for it is Gerson. See Mabillon, Annal. v. 202 ; Pagi, xvii. 577 ; D'Achery, in Patrol. clvi. 1081 ; Alban Butler, Oct. 6 ; and, for the history of the controversy, Helyot, vii. 376 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 311. There is a metrical version in Monast. Anglic. VI. iv. The Bollandists (Oct. 6, pp. 532, seqq.) have a very long dissertation, and seem to conclude that the story is edifying, but is not to be absolutely believed, p. 587.

[z] Anon. Cartus. ap. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vi. 36 ; Exord. Ordin. Cartus., ib. 152-3 ; Hist. Litt. ix. 237 ; Acta SS. Oct. 6, pp. 538, seqq.

[a] This appears from a letter of his own, in Mabill. Annal. v. 202, or Patrol. clii. 422.

[b] Guibert. Novig. de Vita sua, i. 11 (Patrol. clvi. 853) ; Hist. Litt. ix. 236. Manasses figures largely in the letters of Gregory VII., by whom he was at length deposed in 1080. Guib. l. c. ; Hist. Litt. ix. 655 ; Acta SS. Oct. 6, pp. 516, 521.

[c] Puteanus, 31-2, 41 ; Mabill. Annal. v. 203.

[d] Guigo, Vita Hug. Gratianopol. 11-12 (Patrol. cliii.).

to thirteen (or at the utmost, to fourteen), and that of the lay brethren to sixteen, on the ground that the wilderness could not support a larger company without the necessity of their being entangled in the affairs of this world.[e] They were forbidden to possess any land, except in the neighbourhood of their monastery, and the number of beasts which they were allowed to keep was limited.[f] The object of their retreat was declared to be the salvation of their own souls,—the part of Mary, not that of Martha; hence the intrusion of poor strangers into their wilderness was discouraged, and, although the monks were not absolutely forbidden to relieve such strangers, they were charged rather to spend any superfluities which they might have on the poor of their own neighbourhood.[g] Their manner of life was extremely rigid. They wore goatskins next to the flesh, and their dress was altogether of the coarsest kind.[h] For three days in the week their food was bread and water; on the other days they added pulse; the highest luxuries of festivals were cheese and fish; and the small quantity of wine allowed by the Benedictine rule was never to be drunk undiluted.[i] The only greater relaxation as to diet was at the periodical bleedings, which took place five times in the year.[k] They confessed every week,[l] and underwent a weekly flagellation; but it was a part of their obedience that no one should impose any extraordinary austerity on himself without the leave of the prior.[m] They ordinarily spoke on Sundays and festivals only; the lay brethren alone were allowed to relieve their silence by signs: and it was required that these signs should be of a "rustic" character, without any "facetiousness or wantonness"; that they should not be taught to strangers, and that no other

[e] Consuetudines, 27, 78-9 (ib.).
[f] Consuetud. xli. 1; Pet. Cluniac. de Miraculis, ii. 28.
[g] Consuetud. c. 20.
[h] Pet. Clun. l. c.
[i] Consuet. 33-4.
[k] C. 39.
[l] C. vii. 2.
[m] C. 35; li. 5.

code of signals should be learnt.[n] When, however, any monks were employed together in copying or binding books, or in any other common labour, they were at liberty to converse among themselves, although not with others.[o] Each monk was to cook for himself in his cell,[p] which he was very rarely to leave; and in the cells most of the offices of religion were to be performed, except on Sundays, when the brethren met in the church and in the refectory.[q] If any present were sent to a member of the society, the prior was not only authorized (as in the Benedictine rule[r]) to give it to another, but, in order to eradicate the idea of individual property, it was even ordered that the present should not be given to the person for whom it had been intended.[s] In the service of their churches everything was to be plain and severe; no processions were allowed,[t] and all ornament was forbidden, with the exception of one silver chalice, and a silver tube for drinking the eucharistic wine.[u] Notwithstanding their poverty, Guibert of Nogent found the Carthusians possessed of a valuable library; and much of their time was devoted to transcription and other literary labours.[x]

After having spent six years at the Chartreuse, Bruno reluctantly complied with an invitation to Rome from Urban II., who had formerly been his pupil at Reims;[y] but he soon became weary of the city, and, after having refused the bishoprick of Reggio, he founded, under the patronage of the grand count Roger, a second Chartreuse (Sto. Stefano del Bosco) in A.D. 1090.

[n] C. xxxi. 3; xlv.
[o] C. 32. [p] C. 33.
[q] Cc. 29, 31. Contrary to the usual custom of celebrating the mass daily, the Carthusians seem to have done so only on Sundays and festivals. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf. 35.
[r] See vol. ii. p. 350.
[s] C. 59. [t] C. 6.
[u] C. 40. See Ducange, s. vv. *Calamus, Fistula;* Augusti, xii. 46-52; Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' i. 165-8.
[x] Guib. de Vita sua, i. 11, col. 854; Consuetudines, c. xxviii. 2-4; Mabill. Annal. v. 39, 205; Schröckh, xxvii. 315-22. Cf. Vit. S. Hugonis Lincoln. ed. Dimock, i. 7, 10 (Chron. and Mem.).
[y] Vita Antiq. 15-19; Putean. 44-6; Pagi, xvii. 634.

the diocese of Squillace,[z] where he died in 1101.[a] In the meantime the original foundation had been carried on by his disciples, who, after having accompanied him into Italy, had returned at his desire, and re-established themselves under Landuin as prior.[b] The "customs" of the order were digested into a written code by the fifth prior, Guigo I., in 1128;[c] the founder was canonised by Leo X. in 1513.[d]

The rigour of the Carthusian institutions rendered the progress of the order slow; yet it gradually made its way. There were also Carthusian nuns; but the discipline was too severe for the female sex, and in the eighteenth century only five convents of women professed the rule.[e] Although the Carthusians became wealthy, and built magnificent houses (the Certosa near Pavia being perhaps the most splendid monastery in the world[f]), they preserved themselves from personal luxury more strictly than any other order; thus they escaped the satire which was profusely lavished on monks in general, and they never needed a reformation.[g]

III. The next in time of the new orders was founded by Robert, a native of Arbrissel or Albresec, near Rennes.[h] Robert was born about 1047, and, after

[z] Urban. Ep. 67 (Patrol. cli.). It was dedicated in 1094. Mabill. Annal. v. 203, 342; Acta SS. Oct. 6, pp. 647, seqq.

[a] Mabill. Annal. v. 444.

[b] Vita Antiq. 16, 20-23; Putean. 47-8.

[c] Patrol. cliii. 631, seqq.; Mabill. Acta SS. ix. 39; Hist. Litt. xi. 647.

[d] Schröckh, xxvii. 318.

[e] Mosh. ii. 360.

[f] Handb. of North Italy, 186, ed. 1854.

[g] Mabill. Annal. v. 205; Schröckh, xxvii. 320. See Sigeb. contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1131 (Patrol. clx.); Joh. Sarisb. Polycrat. vii. 23 (ib. cxcix.). Giraldus Cambrensis, in his 'Speculum Ecclesiæ,' while he is hard on the Cluniacs, and especially on the Cistercians, has nothing but praise for the Carthusians (iii. 20). Cf. Joh. Busche de Reform. Monast. Saxoniæ, in Leibnitz, ii. 935. Erasmus makes a character in one of his Colloquies say, with regard to the effect of their austerities, "Mihi vix contigit ullum ingredi monasterium Carthusianorum, quin illis offenderim unum atque alterum aut simpliciter mente captum aut delirantem." Opera, i. 807. Duchesne, however, in his notes on Peter of Cluny, De Mirac. ii. 28, notices some points in which they had degenerated.

[h] Helyot, vi. 85.

having studied at Paris, where he became a teacher of theology, he accepted in 1086 an invitation to act as vicar to Sylvester, bishop of Rennes, a man of high birth, who, although himself illiterate, respected learning in others.[i] Here he for four years exerted himself to enforce the Hildebrandine principles as to celibacy, simony, and emancipation of the church from lay control; but after his patron's death he found it expedient to withdraw from the enmity of the canons, whom he had provoked by his endeavours to reform them.[k] For a time he taught theology at Angers, and in 1091 he withdrew to the forest of Craon, on the confines of Anjou and Brittany, where he entered on a course of extraordinary austerity. Disciples and imitators soon gathered around him, and for these, whom he styled "the poor of Christ," he founded in 1094 a society on the principles of the canonical life.[l]

Pope Urban, on his visit to France in 1096, sent for Robert, and, being struck with his eloquence, bestowed on him the title of "apostolical preacher," with a charge to publish the crusade.[m] The zeal with which Robert executed this commission, in cities, villages, and hamlets, was the means of sending many to fight the battles of Christendom in the east; while others were persuaded by his discourse to forsake their homes and attach themselves to him as their master.[n] In 1100 he laid the foundation of a great establishment at Fontevraud, in the diocese of Poitiers—then a rough tract, overgrown with thorns and brushwood. His followers were of both sexes; the men were committed to two of his chief disciples, while he himself especially took care of the women.[o] From time to time he left Fontevraud for the

[i] Baldric. Dol. Vita Roberti, ap. Bouquet, xiv. 163; Mabillon, Annal. v. 314; Hist. Litt. x. 153.

[k] Vita p. 164.

[l] Helyot, vi. 87; Bayle, art. *Fontevraud*, t. vi. p. 503.

[m] Vita, 164.

[n] Schröckh, xxvii. 331. [o] Ib. 333.

labours of his office as apostolical preacher, which gave him opportunities of making his institutions known, and of founding similar communities in various parts of France. His preaching was addressed with great effect to unhappy women who had fallen from virtue; among his converts was the notorious queen Bertrada, whom he persuaded, after the death of Philip, to live for a time at Fontevraud under the severe discipline of his community.[p] He had three nunneries—one for virgins and widows, one for the sick and lepers, and the third for women whom he had reclaimed from a life of sin. The rule was very strict; the female recluses were not allowed to speak except in the chapter-house, because, it is said, Robert knew that they could not be restrained from idle talk except by an entire prohibition of speech.[q] But it was rumoured that Robert laid himself open to scandal by reviving a kind of fanaticism which had been practised in the early African church.[r] Godfrey of Vendome remonstrates with him on this subject, and mentions that he was charged also with partiality in his behaviour towards his female disciples—treating some with indulgence, while to others he was harsh in language, and mercilessly subjected them to cold, hunger, and nakedness. Marbod, bishop of Rennes, likewise ad-

[p] Bayle, l. c. note F.; Hist Litt. x. 164.

[q] Regula Sanctimon., Patrol. clxii. 1079; W. Malmesb. 673.

[r] "Fœminarum quasdam, ut dicitur, nimis familiariter tecum habitare permittis, et cum ipsis etiam, et inter ipsas, noctu frequenter cubare non erubescis," etc. (Godefr. Vindocin. ad Robertum, Ep. iv. 47, Bibl. Patr. xxi. 49.) The genuineness of this letter has been questioned (as by the Bollandists, Feb. 25, pp. 606-8), but is established by Mabillon (Annal. v. 424) and Pagi (xviii. 294). See Nat. Alex. xiv. 23; Bayle, notes G, L, O, P; Schröckh, xxvii. 338; Giesel. II. ii. 300. In any case, the indignation which some of Robert's advocates affect as to the letter is altogether needless. For it is not immorality but indiscretion that Godfrey imputes; he mentions the charges merely as matter of hearsay, and he is known to have afterwards treated Robert with great respect (Hist. Litt. x. 162; xi. 190). Mabillon supposes that both Godfrey and Marbod wrote between the foundation and the full establishment of Fontevraud. Annal. v. 424-5.

dressed to him a letter of admonition—censuring him for the affectations which he practised for the sake of influence over the simple, but which, in the bishop's opinion, were more likely to make his sanity suspected—the long beard, the naked feet, the old and tattered garments ; and telling him that, by attacking the clergy in his sermons, he excited the people to the sin of despising their pastors.[s] It appears also that Roscellin (whose peculiar opinions will hereafter engage our attention) attacked Robert for receiving into his society women who had fled from their husbands, and for detaining them in defiance of the bishop of Angers.[t]

The institute of Fontevraud was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1106, and again in 1113.[u] Robert, finding his strength decay, in 1115 committed the superintendence of his whole order—men as well as women—to a female superior—an extraordinary arrangement, for which he alleged the precedent that the Saviour on the cross commended St. John to the care of the blessed Virgin as his mother.[x] At the founder's death, in 1117, the number of nuns at Fontevraud already amounted to 3,000 ; and soon after it was between 4,000 and 5,000.[y] The order spread, so that it had establishments in Spain and in England, as well as in France,[z] and some smaller

[s] Marbod, Ep. 6, ap. Hildebert. ed. Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, pp. 1404-10. The editor, without apparent ground, doubts whether it was addressed to Robert. See Hist. Litt. x. 556.

[t] Roscell. ap. Abælard. Ep. 15, Patrol. clxxviii. 361. Cf. Abæl. Ep. 14.

[u] Bayle, vi. 504.

[x] Vita Altera, 5-9 (Patrol. clxii.); Bayle, l. c. By some writers the female headship has been defended with arguments which, as reported by Bayle and Schröckh, appear nowise happy. On the other hand, Mabillon denies the fact (Annal. v. 423). But there is the evidence of Abelard (Ep. i. 14, fin., Patrol. clxxviii.) for it, immediately after Robert's time (although the reference to Fontevraud appears somewhat indistinct), and the order continued to be governed by women. See Eugen. III. Ep. 364 (ib. clxxx.); Hist. Litt. x. 163-4 ; Helyot, vi. 93-4 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 334-5.

[y] Mabill. Annal. vi. 17. See Suger. Ep. 88 (Patrol. clxxxvi.); Pet. Cell. Ep. i. 4 (ib. ccii.).

[z] Schröckh, xxvii. 340.

orders, as those of Tiron and Savigny, branched off from it.[a]

IV. Of the orders which had their origin about this time the most widely extended and most powerful was the Cistercian. The founder, Robert, was son of a nobleman in Champagne, and entered a monastery at fifteen.[b] After having lived in several religious houses without finding any one sufficiently strict for his idea of the monastic profession, he became the head of a society at Molesme, in the diocese of Langres. They were at first excessively poor, and underwent great privations; but the sight of their rigid life soon drew to them a profusion of gifts, which led to a relaxation of their discipline, and Robert, after having in vain remonstrated, left them in indignation. In compliance with their urgent requests he consented to return; but he soon had the mortification of discovering that their invitation had been prompted by no better motive than a wish to recover the popular esteem and bounty which had been withdrawn from them in consequence of his departure.[c] Discords arose on the subject of dispensations from the Benedictine rule; and in 1098, Robert, with the sanction of the legate Hugh of Lyons, withdrew with twenty companions to Cistercium or Cîteaux, a lonely and uncultivated place in the neighbourhood of Dijon.[d] The duke of Burgundy bestowed on the infant community a site for buildings, with land for tillage, and contributed to its support. In the following year, Robert was once more desired to return to Molesme by the

[a] See Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf.

[b] Vita (by a monk of Molesme in the 12th century), 2-3 (Patrol. clvii.); Hist. Litt. x. 2.

[c] Vita, 8-9; Order. Vital. iv. 435-41; Mabill. Ann. v. 93-4.

[d] Exord. Magnum, Patrol. clxxxv.; Hugo Lugd. Ep. 22 (ib. clvii.); Notitia (ib clv. 1167); "Relatio qualiter incepit ordo Cisterciensis," in Monast. Anglic. v. 221; W. Malmesb. 513; Mabill. Annal. v 394; Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 352, seqq. Giraldus Cambrensis gives a different account. Spec. Eccl. ii. 34.

authority of Urban II., on the representation of the monks that their society had fallen into disorder and that they were persecuted by their neighbours;[e] and he continued to govern his earlier foundation until his death, in 1110.[f]

His successor at Cîteaux, Alberic, laid down the rule for the new order,[g] and it was afterwards carried out with greater rigour by the third abbot, Stephen Harding,[h] an Englishman and one of Robert's original companions, whose code, entitled the "Charter of Love," was sanctioned by pope Calixtus in 1119.[i] The Cistercians were to observe the rule of St. Benedict, without any glosses or relaxations.[k] Their dress was to be white, agreeably to a pattern which the blessed Virgin had shown to Alberic in a vision.[l] They were to accept no gifts of churches, altars, or tithes,[m] and were to refrain from intermeddling with the pastoral office.[n] From the ides of September to Easter, they were to eat but one meal daily.[o] Their monasteries, which were all to be dedicated to the blessed Virgin,[p] were to be planted in lonely places;[q] they were to eschew all pomp, pride, and superfluity; their services were to be simple and plain,

[e] Urban. II. Ep. 21, ap. Hard. vi.; Hugo, Ep. 23. William of Malmesbury says that the monks of Molesme recalled Robert because they knew him to be tired of the strictness of Cîteaux (515). But this story is rejected as a calumny. Mabill. Annal. v. 405; Schröckh, xxvii. 253.

[f] Vita, 11-12; Order. Vital. iii. 442; Mabill. Annal. v. 395, 404, 546; Monast. Angl. v. 222.

[g] Exordium Cisterc. (Patrol. clvi. 9).

[h] It would seem that his original name was Harding, that of Stephen having been assumed at Molesme. Joh. Petrib. ap. Sparke, 57.

[i] Calixt. Ep. 2, ap. Hard. vi. 1949; W. Malmesb. 516; Hist. Litt. xi. 213, seqq.; Acta SS. Apr. 17; Mabill. Annal. vi. 35; Life of Stephen, 158-61, in 'Lives of English Saints,' London, 1844. The 'Carta Caritatis' relates to organization; in other matters the order was governed by the 'Usus Antiquiores,' of which the date and the authorship are unknown. Both documents are in Patrol. clxvi.

[k] Carta Carit. 1.

[l] Vita Alber. c. 2, Acta SS. Jan. 26; Mabill. Annal. v. 531.

[m] Exord. 15.

[n] See extracts from the statutes of their chapters, in Giesel. II. ii. 311.

[o] Order. Vital. iii. 445.

[p] Instituta, c. 18 (Patrol. clxxxiii.).

[q] Exord. 15.

and all vocal artifices were forbidden in their chanting;[r] some of the ecclesiastical vestments were discarded, and those which were retained were to be of fustian or linen, without any golden ornaments. They were to have only one iron chandelier; their censers were to be of brass or iron; no plate was allowed, except one chalice and a tube for the eucharistic wine, and these were, if possible, to be of silver gilt, but not of gold.[s] Paintings, sculpture, and stained glass were prohibited, as being likely to distract the mind from spiritual meditation; the only exception as to such things was in favour of painted wooden crosses.[t] The monks were to give themselves wholly to spiritual employments, while the secular affairs of the community were to be managed by the "bearded" or lay brethren. No serfs were allowed, but hired servants were employed to assist in labour.[u] In the simplicity of their church-services and furniture the Cistercians differed from the Cluniacs, whose ritual was distinguished for its splendour; the elder order regarded the principle of the younger as a reproach against itself, and a rivalry soon sprang up between them.[x] The white dress, which, although already adopted at Camaldoli, was a novelty in France, gave offence to the other monastic societies, which had worn black habits as a symbol of humility and regarded the new colour as a pretension to superior righteousness; but the Cistercians defended it as expressive of the joy which became the angelic life of the cloister.[y]

In 1113 the order of Cîteaux received the member from whose reputation it was to derive its greatest lustre

[r] Instituta, 71.

[s] Exord. 17. [t] Instit. 20, 81.

[u] Exord. 15; Monast. Angl. v. 222-5; Mabill. Annal. v. 431; Schröckh, xxvii. 254-5.

[x] Helyot, iv. 349; Schröckh, xxvii. 349; Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 358. See hereafter, ch. xiii. ii. 2.

[y] Order. Vital. iii. 434-5; Pet. Cluniac. Ep. i. 28 (Patrol. clxxxix. 116); Mabill. Annal. v. 531; Life of Stephen Harding, 55.

and popularity—St. Bernard.[z] The same year saw the foundation of La Ferté, the eldest daughter society; Pontigny followed in 1114, Clairvaux (of which the young Bernard was the first abbot) and Morimond in 1115.[a] The rule of the Cistercians was approved by the bishops in whose dioceses these monasteries were situated; and Stephen Harding required that, before the foundation of any monastery, the bishop of the place should signify his assent to the rule, so that no difficulty might afterwards arise from a conflict between the duties of the monks towards their order and that obedience to episcopal authority which was an essential part of the system.[b] While the government of the Cluniacs was monarchical, that of the Cistercians was aristocratic; the four chief "daughters"—those which have just been named—were allowed a large influence in the affairs of the order; their abbots took the lead in electing the abbot of Cîteaux,[c] who was subject to their visitation and correction.[d] But the most remarkable feature in the system was that of the annual general chapters, the first of which was held in 1116.[e] For these meetings every abbot of the order was required to appear at Cîteaux, unless prevented by illness, in which case he was represented by a deputy. From the nearer countries, the attendance was to be every year; from the more remote, it was, according to their distance, to be once in three, four, five, or seven years.[f] Such meetings had been held occasionally in other orders, as in that of Grammont; but it was among the Cistercians

[z] See the next chapter.

[a] In Latin *Firmitas* (a fortification). Ducange, s. v.

[b] Mabill. Annal. v. 587, 594, 603-5.

[c] See Calixt. II. Ep. 2 (Hard. vi.); Eugen. III. Ep. 521 (Patrol. clxxx.); Prolog. in Cart. Caritat. ib. clxvi. 1377; Giesel. II. ii. 311.

[d] Carta Car. 4-11, 19, 27-30; Cæsar. Heisterb. i. 1; Mabill. Annal. v. 595; Helyot, v. 251.

[e] Mabill. Annal. v. 617.

[f] Carta Car. 12-16; Mart. De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. iv. 172.

that they were for the first time organized as a part of the regular government, and from them they were copied by the Carthusians and others. The effect of this arrangement was found to be beneficial, not only in securing a general superintendence of the community, but as a means of preventing jealousies by allowing the affiliated societies a share in the administration of the whole.[g]

After having thrown out its first swarms, the Cistercian order rapidly increased. At the general chapter in 1151 it numbered upwards of 500 monasteries, and it was resolved that no further additions should be admitted.[h] But in the following century the number had advanced to 1800, and eventually it was much greater.[i] The Cistercians grew rich, and reforms became necessary among them; but until the rise of the mendicant orders, they were the most popular of all the monastic societies.

V. The canonical life had fallen into great decay. Nicolas II., in the council of 1059, attempted a reformation, by which canons were to have a common table and a common dormitory, and, although they were not required to sacrifice their private property, were enjoined to hold their official revenues in common.[k] But a new system, which resembled that of monasticism in the renunciation of all individual property, was also introduced during the eleventh century, the first example of it having apparently been given by some clergy of Avignon, who in 1038 established themselves at the church of St. Rufus.[l] The canons of this system were styled regular, and took their name from St. Augustine,

[g] Planck, IV. ii. 515-17. The want of such an institution among the Cluniacs is deplored by Herbord, one of the biographers of St. Otho of Bamberg (Pertz, xii. 764). In Martene's 'Thesaurus,' vol. iv., are the statutes of many Cistercian chapters, which give much information as to the order.

[h] Rob. de Monte, in Patrol. clx. 472.

[i] Schröckh, xxvii. 259.

[k] Epp. 7-9 (Patrol. cxliii.). See Mosh. ii. 361.

[l] Martene, Coll. Ampliss. vi. Præf. p. vii.

who had instituted a similar mode of life among his clergy, and from whose writings their rule was compiled.[m]

In the twelfth century a new order of canons was founded by Norbert, who was born of a noble family at Xanten, on the lower Rhine, about 1080.[n] In early life he obtained canonries both at his native place and at Cologne. He attached himself to the court of Henry V., with whom he enjoyed great favour, and his life was that of a courtly ecclesiastic, devoted to the enjoyments of the world, and altogether careless of his spiritual duties. In 1111 he accompanied the emperor to Italy, where the first impulse to a change was given by his horror at the outrages and imprisonment to which the pope was subjected. A scruple as to investiture led him soon after to refuse the see of Cambray;[o] and his conversion was completed by a thunder-storm, in which he appears to have been thrown from his horse, which was startled by a flash of lightning, and to have been rendered for a time insensible; while the voice which he is said to have heard from heaven, and other circumstances more closely assimilating his case to that of St. Paul, may be ascribed either to his imagination or to invention.[p]

After this Norbert withdrew for a time to a monastery; and, as he was yet only a subdeacon, A.D. 1115. he presented himself before the archbishop of Cologne, with a request that the orders of deacon and priest might be conferred on him in one day. The archbishop, finding that this request proceeded from an excess of zeal, consented to dispense with the canons which forbade such ordinations; and Norbert, exchanging his gay dress for a rough sheepskin, girt around him with a

[m] See Nat. Alex. xiii. 340, seqq.; Schröckh, xxvii. 223-5.

[n] Vita, 1, ap. Pertz, xii. See Brockie, iv. 220-1; Murat. Antiq. v. 256; Helyot, ii. 67; Acta SS. Jun. 6.

[o] Hermann. Tornac. de Restaur. S. Martini, 85 (Patrol. clxxx); Vita, 6.

[p] Vita, 1; Schröckh, xxvii. 346 Neand. vii. 339.

cord, set out on the career of a preacher and a reformer.[q] His appearance in this character displeased his brethren, and, at a council held by the legate Conon at Fritzlar in 1118, some of them charged him with turbulence, assumption, and eccentricities unbecoming both his birth and his ecclesiastical station.[r] As the attempt to do good in his own country seemed hopeless, he resigned his benefices, sold all that he possessed, gave away the price, and went forth with two brethren to preach the gospel in apostolical poverty.[s] At St. Giles, in Provence, he became known to pope Gelasius, who wished to retain him in his company; but Norbert was bent on continuing his labours, and obtained from the pope a licence to preach wheresoever he would.[t] He made his way through France, barefooted and thinly clad, disregarding the roughness of the ways, the rain, the ice and the snow. At Valenciennes, finding that his knowledge of French was insufficient for preaching, while the people could not understand his German, he prayed for the gift of tongues, and we are told that his prayer was heard.[u] At Cambray, the city of which he had refused to be bishop, he fell dangerously ill, and his two original companions, with a third who had joined him at Orleans, died; but he found a new associate in the bishop's chaplain, Hugh.[x] The effect of his preaching was heightened by miracles, and wherever he appeared he was received with veneration.[y]

Nov. 1118.

In company with Hugh, Norbert repaired to the council of Reims, with a view of soliciting from Calixtus a renewal

[q] Vita, 2; Schröckh, xxvii. 349.

[r] Vita, 4. [s] Ib.

[t] Hermann. Tornac. de Miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis, iii. 2. (Patrol. clvi.)

[u] Vita Posterior, ap. Pertz, xii. 674.

[x] That it is a mistake to ascribe the *later* Life of Norbert to Hugh, see Pertz, xii. 666, by whom the original Life has been published for the first time.

[y] Vita, 6-8; Herm. iii. 8. The Premonstratensian continuer of Sigebert places the death of Norbert's companions and Hugh's adhesion after the council of Reims. Pertz, vi. 448.

of the general licence to preach which had been bestowed on him by Gelasius. On account of their mean appearance, they were unable to obtain an audience of the pope; and they left the city in despair. But on the road they met with Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, who persuaded them to return with him to Reims, and not only obtained for them the licence which they sought, but, by the pope's permission, carried them with him to Laon, with a view of employing them in a reform of his canons. Norbert, however, found the task of reform beyond his power;[z] he refused an abbacy in the city of Laon, but, at Bartholomew's entreaty, he consented to remain within the diocese; and, after having been conducted by the bishop from one spot to another, with a view of fixing on a site, he at length chose Prémontré, a secluded and marshy valley in the forest of Coucy, from which his order took the name of *Premonstratensian.* A little chapel was already built there, and Norbert, on passing a night in it, had a vision of the blessed Virgin, who showed him a white woollen garment, as a pattern of the dress which his order was to assume.[a] A.D. 1119.

Having chosen a situation, Norbert went forth in the beginning of Lent to gather companions, and by Easter he returned to Prémontré with thirteen,[b] whose number was

[z] Herm. iii. 2-3, Robert. Autissiodor. ap. Bouquet, xii. 291.

[a] Biblioth. Præmonstr. pp. 16-18, ed. Le Paige, Paris, 1633; Herm. iii. 3; Bouquet, xii. 271, 291; Alberic. III. Font. ib. xiii. 694; Monast. Anglic. vi. 858-63. There is a contest as to the derivation of *Præmonstratum.* Some derive it from the vision in which the blessed Virgin *foreshowed* the spot; but it would seem that the name was before given to some place in the immediate neighbourhood, if not to the very site of Norbert's monastery. See the Life, 9, p. 679; Bibl. Præm. 14-15; Monast. Angl. vi. 860-1; Bouquet, xii. 271; Mabill. Annal. vi. 48; Helyot, ii. 156-7. For charters relating to Prémontré, see Patrol. clxx. 1359-64. The original site was soon after exchanged for one on an adjoining hill, which had been bestowed by a hermit named Guy on St. Bernard, and by him was given up to the Premonstratensians. See Bern. Ep. 253 (Patrol. clxxxii.) and the Bollandist Acta S. Bern. c. ix. (ib. clxxxv.). There is a long mystical commentary, 'De ordine et habitu Præmonstratensium,' by Adamus Scotus, in Patrol. cxcviii.

[b] Sigeb. Contin. Præm. ap. Pertz, vi. 448.

speedily increased. For a time, like Anthony and Benedict, he was much vexed by the devices of the devil; but he was victorious in the contest.[c] A.D. 1120. Thus we are told that once, when the enemy was rushing on him in the shape of a bear, he compelled him to vanish;[d] and that by a like power he obliged the wolves of the neighbourhood to perform the duty of sheepdogs.[e]

In the rule of the Premonstratensians the rigid life of monks was combined with the practical duties of the clerical office.[f] The Cistercian system of annual chapters was adopted, and the three houses of the order which ranked next in dignity after Prémontré were invested with privileges resembling those enjoyed by the four "chief daughters" of Cîteaux.[g] The order was not allowed to possess tolls, taxes, or serfs; and the members were specially forbidden to keep any animals of the more curious kinds—such as deers, bears, monkeys, peacocks, swans, or hawks.[h] The new establishment met with favour and liberal patronage, and Norbert founded other monasteries on the same model in various parts of France and Germany. Theobald, count of Champagne, was desirous to enter into the society of Prémontré; but the founder told him that it was God's will that he should continue in his life of piety and beneficence as a layman, and that he should marry in the hope of raising offspring to inherit his territories.[i] The fame of Norbert was increased by the victory which he gained in 1124

[c] Vita, 9, 13-14. [d] Ib. 17.

[e] Vita Poster. ap. Pertz, xii. 692.

[f] Schröckh, xxvii. 356.

[g] Institut. Præm. iv. 1, 8. ap. Martene, De Ant. Eccl. Rit. iii. 334; Innoc. III. Ep. i. 331. (Patrol. ccxiv.).

[h] Institut. iv. 16. It would seem that they attempted to evade this rule by pretending that beasts or birds of the forbidden kinds had been entrusted to them "ad nutriendum sive custodiendum." Innoc. III. l. c. col. 302, A.

[i] Vita, 15. p. 688. Theobald is styled by Robert of Auxerre "pater orphanorum et judex viduarum, cæcorum oculus, pes claudorum, in sustentandis pauperibus singulariter munificus, in extruendis cœnobiis et erga religiosos quosque incomparabili largitate" (Chron. ap. Bouquet, xii. 293). He was a great friend of St. Bernard.

over the followers of a fanatic of Antwerp named Tanchelm, whose system appears to have been a mixture of impiety and immorality;[k] and in 1126 the discipline and the possessions of the Premonstratensians were confirmed by Honorius II.[l]

In the same year, Count Theobald married a German princess. Norbert was invited to the nuptials, and had proceeded as far as Spires, where the emperor Lothair III. and two papal legates happened to be. The clergy of Magdeburg, being unable to agree in the choice of an archbishop, had resolved to be guided by the advice of these legates; and on Norbert's entering a church where their deputies were in conference with the representatives of Rome, his appearance was hailed as providential, and the legates recommended him for the vacant dignity. The emperor, who had been struck by his preaching, confirmed the choice, and it was in vain that Norbert endeavoured to escape by pleading that he was unfit for the office, and that he was involved in other engagements.[m] At Magdeburg he was received with great pomp; but he had altered nothing in his habits, and when he appeared last in the procession, barefooted and meanly dressed, the porter of the archiepiscopal palace was about to shut him out as a beggar. On discovering the mistake, the man was filled with dismay; but Norbert told him that he had understood his unfitness better than those who had forced him to accept the see.[n] As archbishop, Norbert took an active part in the affairs of the church. Notwithstanding much opposition, he established a college of Premonstratensians instead of the dissolute canons of St. Mary at Magdeburg.[o] In

[k] Vita, 16. See hereafter, ch. xii.

[l] Ep. 37 (Patrol. clxvi.).

[m] Herm. iii. 9. There are other versions of the story. (Vita, 17-18; Hist. Litt. xi. 247; see Luden, x. 30.)

Lothair was, strictly speaking, not yet emperor, as he had not been crowned at Rome.

[n] Vita, 18.

[o] Ib.; Honor. II. Ep. 99 (Patrol clxvi.).

1129 he resigned the headship of his order to his old companion Hugh; and, on revisiting Prémontré two years later, in company with pope Innocent II., he had the satisfaction of finding that his rule was faithfully observed by a brotherhood of about 500.[p]

Norbert died in 1134.[q] The Premonstratensians spread widely; even in the founder's lifetime they had houses in Syria and Palestine;[r] and the order was divided into thirty provinces, each of which was under a superintendent, styled *circator*.[s] They long kept up their severity; but in the course of years their discipline was impaired by wealth, and the order has become extinct even in some countries of the Roman communion where it was once established.[t] The founder was canonized by Gregory XIII. in 1582.[u]

VI. Some orders were established for the performance of special acts of charity, as the canons of St. Antony, founded in the end of the eleventh century by Gaston, a nobleman of Dauphiny, in thankfulness for his recovery from the pestilence called St. Antony's fire.[x] And to such an institution is to be traced the origin of one of the great military orders which are a remarkable feature of this time.

A monastery for the benefit of Latin pilgrims had been founded at Jerusalem about the middle of the eleventh century, chiefly through the bounty of merchants of Amalfi. To this was attached a hospital for each sex—that for men having a chapel dedicated to

[p] Herm. iii. 6; Sigeb. Contin. Præmonstr. 450.

[q] Vita, 22.

[r] Sigeb. Contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1131.

[s] Herzog, xii. 83. The Provost of Magdeburg, who was circator of Saxony, had authority, not only over the Premonstratensian monasteries of his province, but over the chapters of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Ratzeburg—the bishops of these places being usually chosen from the order. Ib.

[t] Helyot, ii. 163; Schröckh, xxvii. 364-9. There is a letter of Alexander III. severely rebuking the Premonstratensians. Ep. 923, Patrol. cc.

[u] Alb. Butler, June 6.

[x] See Brockie, v. 119, seqq.; Schröckh, xxvii. 327.

St. John the Almsgiver,[y] who was afterwards superseded as patron by the more venerable name of St. John the Baptist; and relief was given to pilgrims who were sick, or who had been reduced to destitution, whether by the expenses of their journey or by the robbers who infested the roads.[z] From the time of the conquest by the crusaders, the brethren of the hospital became independent of the monastery, and formed themselves into a separate order, distinguished by a black dress, with a white cross on the breast, and living monastically under a rule which was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1113.[a] The piety and charity of these brethren attracted general reverence; they were enriched by gifts and endowments, both in Asia and in Europe, from kings and other benefactors; and many knights who had gone to the Holy Land as crusaders or as pilgrims enrolled themselves among them. Among these was Raymond du Puy, who in 1118 became master of the hospital, and soon after drew up a rule which was sanctioned by pope Calixtus in 1120. The Hospitallers were to profess poverty, obedience, and strict chastity; they were to beg for the poor, and, whenever they went abroad for this or any other purpose, they were not to go singly, but with companions assigned by the master. No one was to possess any money without the master's leave, and, when travelling, they were to carry a light with them, which was to be kept burning throughout the night.[b]

About the same time arose the military order of the

[y] See vol. ii. p. 410.

[z] Will. Tyr. vii. 23; xviii. 4-5 (Patrol. cci.); Jac. Vitriac. ap. Bongars, 1082-3; Monast. Angl. vi. 793-4; Acta SS. Jan. 23, pp. 146-8; Pagi and Mansi, in Bar. xviii. 107-9; Vertot, 'Hist. des Cheval. de Malte,' ed. 4to, i. 15; Helyot, iii. 73; Wilken, ii. 539-40.

[a] Pasch. Ep. 357 (Patrol. clxiii.); Will. Tyr. xviii. 6; Wilken, ii. 541-2.

[b] Helyot, iii. 75; Vertot, i. 54, 580; Wilken, ii. 543. There is a letter of Calixtus, recommending the Hospitallers to the charity of western Christians, "Non enim," says the pope, "Hierosolymitanæ peregrinationis mercedis vacuus est, qui in Hierosolymitanis peregrinis rerum suarum adminiculum subministrat." Ep. 239 (Patrol. clxiii.).

Temple. In 1118, Hugh des Payens and seven other French knights, impressed by the dangers to which Christianity was exposed in the east, and by the attacks to which pilgrims were subject from infidels and robbers,[c] vowed before the patriarch of Jerusalem to fight for the faith against the unbelievers, to defend the highways, to observe the three monastic obligations, and to live under a discipline adopted from the canons of St. Augustine.[d]

By the formation of this society the Hospitallers were roused to emulation.[e] The martial spirit revived in some of the brethren, who had formerly been knights; and as the wealth of the body was far more than sufficient for their original objects, Raymond du Puy offered their gratuitous services against the infidels to king Baldwin. The Hospitallers were now divided into three classes—knights, clergy, and serving brethren—the last consisting of persons who were not of noble birth. Both the knights and the servitors were bound, when not engaged in war, to devote themselves to the original purposes of the order. They soon distinguished themselves by signal acts of valour, and in 1130 their institution was confirmed by Innocent II.[f] But by degrees they cast off the modesty and humility by which they had been at first distinguished; they defied and insulted the patriarchs of Jerusalem, and claimed immunity from the payment of ecclesiastical dues.[g] When expelled from the Holy Land, they settled successively in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta; and in the last of these seats they continued almost to our own time.

The career of the Templars was shorter, but yet more brilliant. At first they were excessively poor,[h] although

[c] See Vertot, i. 72.

[d] Will. Tyr. xii. 7; J. Vitriac. 1083; Wilken, ii. 9, 546.

[e] See Wilken, ii. 549.

[f] Ep. 30 (Patrol. clxxix.); cf. Ep. 284, A.D. 1137; Anast. IV. Ep. 83, A.D. 1154 (ib. clxxxviii.).

[g] Will. Tyr. xviii. 3; Wilken, iii. 550-1; III. ii. 35; Monast. Anglic. vi. 794-5

[h] Will. Tyr. xii. 7.

the seal of the order, which displays two knights seated on one horse, may perhaps be better interpreted as a symbol of their brotherly union than as signifying that the first grand master and Godfrey of St. Omer possessed but a single charger between them.[i] In 1127, Hugh des Payens and some of his brethren returned to Europe. St. Bernard, who was nephew to one of the members, warmly took up their cause, and addressed a letter to Hugh, in which he enthusiastically commended the institution, exhorted the Templars to the fulfilment of their duties, and dilated on the holy memories connected with Jerusalem and Palestine.[k] At the council of Troyes, held by a papal legate in 1128, Hugh appeared and gave an account of the origin of his order;[l] and he received for it a code of statutes, drawn up under the direction of Bernard. These no longer exist in their original form, but their substance is preserved in the extant rule, which is divided into 72 heads.[m] The Templars were charged to be regular in devotion, self-denying, and modest. Each knight was restricted to three horses—"the poverty of God's house for the time not allowing of a greater number."[n] No gold or silver was to be used in the trappings of their horses; and if such ornaments should be given to them, they were ordered to disguise the precious metals with colour, in order to avoid the appearance of pride.[o] They were to have no locked trunks;[p] they were not to

[i] This is the common interpretation (Wilken, ii. 552; see, *e. g.*, M. Paris, Hist. Angl. i. 223; Barthol. de Cotton, p. 60); but Wilcke (Gesch. des Tempelherren-Ordens, i. 11, Leipz. 1826) remarks that, as being knights, they must have possessed horses.

[k] Liber ad Milites Templi (Patrol. clxxxii.). In Ep. 175 he strongly commends them to the patriarch of Jerusalem.

[l] W. Tyr. xii. 7.

[m] "Regula pauperum Commilitonum Christi, Templique Salomoniaci," Patrol. clxvi. 857, seqq. See ib. 853-6; Schröckh, xxvii. 99-101; Wilken, ii. 558; Wilcke, i. 19; Patrol. clxvi. 857, seqq.; Acta S. Bern. i. 15 (ib. clxxxv.); Neander, 'Der heil. Bernard,' 42: Maillard de Chambures, 52.

[n] C. 30.

[o] C. 37. [p] C. 40.

receive letters, even from their nearest relations, without the master's knowledge, and were to read all letters in his presence.[q] They were to receive no presents except by leave of the master, who was entitled to transfer presents from the knight for whom they were intended to another.[r] They were forbidden to hawk and to hunt, nor might they accompany a person engaged in such amusements, except for the purpose of defending him from infidel treachery.[s] They were charged "always to strike the lion"—a charge which seems to mean that they were bound to unceasing hostility against the enemies of the faith.[t] Individual property in lands and men was allowed.[u] Married brethren might be associated into the order; but they were not to wear its white dress, and they were bound to make it their heir.[x] The Templars were forbidden to kiss even their mothers or sisters,[y] and were never to walk alone.[z] The habit of the order was white,[a] to which Eugenius III. added a red cross on the breast;[b] the banner, the *Beauseant*, was of black and white, inscribed with the motto, "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam."[c]

Although at the time of the council of Troyes the order had already been nine years in existence, the number of its members was only nine;[d] but when thus solemnly inaugurated, and aided by the zealous recommendations of the great saint of Clairvaux, it rapidly increased. There were soon three hundred knights, of the noblest families, a large body of chaplains, and a countless train of servitors and artificers.[e] Emperors, kings, and other potentates enriched the order with lands

[q] C. 41. [r] C. 43. [s] Cc. 46-7.
[t] C. 48. [u] C. 51.
[x] C. 55. [y] C. 72. [z] C. 35.
[a] C. 20.
[b] W. Tyr. xii. 7.
[c] Wilken, ii. 559.
[d] W. Tyr. l. c.; See Pagi, xviii. 405.
[e] W. Tyr. l. c.; J. Vitriac. 1084; Wilken, ii. 562-4.

and endowments, so that, within fifty years after its foundation, it already enjoyed a royal revenue, derived from possessions in all parts of Europe.[f] But, according to the writer who states this, it had even then begun to display the pride, insolence, and defiance of ecclesiastical authority which afterwards rendered it unpopular,[g] and prepared the way for its falling undefended and unlamented, although probably guiltless of the charges on which it was condemned.

By the rise of the new orders the influence of monachism in the church was greatly increased. They were strictly bound to the papacy by ties of mutual interest, and could always reckon on the pope as their patron in disputes with bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities.[h] A large proportion of the papal rescripts during this time consists of privileges granted to monasteries. Many were absolutely exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops;[i] yet such exemptions were less frequently bestowed, as the monastic communities became better able to defend themselves against oppression, and as, consequently, the original pretext for exemptions no longer existed.[k] If bishops had formerly found it difficult to contend with the abbots of powerful individual monasteries, it was now a far more serious matter to deal with a member of a great order, connected with brethren everywhere, closely allied with the pope, and having in the abbot of Cluny or of Cîteaux a chief totally independent of the bishop, and able to support his brethren

[f] W. Tyr. l. c. Henry I. of England was among the princes who contributed to it (Lappenb. ii. 279); but it is a mistake to ascribe to him the gift of its property in London, which was really bestowed by Henry II. See Wilken, ii. Anhang, 47—whose argument as to a document in the Monasticon, however, rests in part on a confusion between Chester and Chichester.

[g] W. Tyr. l. c.

[h] Greg. VII. Ep. ii. 9; Planck, IV. ii. 543.

[i] See, *e.g.*, Urban's grant to La Cava, Ep. x. Hard. vi. 1637.

[k] Planck, IV. ii. 557.

against all opposition. The grievance of which bishops had formerly complained, therefore, was now more rarely inflicted by the privileges bestowed on monasteries; yet the monks were, although without it, in a higher position than ever.[1]

The monastic communities not only intercepted the bounty which would otherwise have been bestowed on the secular clergy,[m] but preyed very seriously on the settled revenues of the church. Laymen, who were moved by conscience or by compulsion to resign tithes which they had held, were inclined to bestow them on monasteries rather than on the parish churches to which they rightfully belonged.[n] And as, by an abuse already described,[o] it had often happened that a layman possessed himself of the oblations belonging to a church, assigning only a miserable stipend to the incumbent, these dues, as well as the tithes, were, in case of a restitution, transferred to the monks. Although some abbots refused to enrich their monasteries by accepting tithes or ecclesiastical dues,[p] and although some of the new monastic rules contained express prohibitions on the subject, it was with little effect that synods attempted to check such impropriations;[q] nor did they perfectly

[1] Planck, IV. ii. 513, 540.

[m] There is a letter of Leo IX. to the Italian bishops, complaining that monks persuaded people to give everything to monasteries. The pope orders that any person wishing to turn monk, whether in life or on his death-bed, shall give half of what he intends "pro salute animæ" to the church to which he belongs. Ep. 66 (Patrol. cxliii.).

[n] See Ducange, s. v. *Ecclesia*, p 6. There is a letter of St. Bernard (316) entreating an archbishop to consent that a nobleman should bestow on a monastery some church property which he was disposed to give up.

[o] Vol. iii. p. 198.

[p] *E.g.*, Godefr. Vindoc. Ep. i. 9 (Patrol. clvii.).

[q] Thomassin, II. i. 36. 6; Planck, IV. ii. 526-31; Conc. Westmonast. A.D. 1102; Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1123, c. 19; Conc. Lond. A.D. 1125, c. 4, etc. Acquisitions of this kind, if already made, were always reserved (*e.g.*, Urban II. Ep. 167, Patrol. cli.), and sometimes popes sanctioned future acquisitions also (*e. g.* Calixt. II. Ep. 20: Regula Templar. c. 66, etc.). Celestine III. forbade the practice in 1195. See the Chronicon Monast. de Bello, 27, note. (Anglia Sacra Society.)

succeed in forbidding monks to interfere with the secular clergy by undertaking pastoral and priestly functions.[r]

The monks of Monte Cassino, the "head and mother of all monasteries,"[s] claimed liberties even against the papacy itself. An abbot named Seniorectus (Signoretto), elected during the pontificate of Honorius II., refused to make a profession of fidelity to the pope, and, on being asked why he should scruple to comply with a form to which all archbishops and bishops submitted, the monks replied that it had never been required of their abbots—that bishops had often fallen into heresy or schism, but Monte Cassino had always been pure. Honorius gave way; but when Reginald, the successor of Seniorectus, had received benediction from the anti-pope Anacletus, the plea for exemption could no longer be plausibly pretended, and, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the monks, Innocent II. insisted on an oath of obedience as a condition of their reconciliation to the Roman church.[t]

New privileges were conferred on orders or on particular monasteries. According to the chroniclers of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, the use of the mitre was granted to Egilsin, abbot of that house, by Alexander II. in 1063, although they admit that, through the "simplicity" of the abbots and the enmity of the archbishops, the privilege lay dormant for more than a century.[u] The

[r] *E.g.*, Conc. Later. A.D. 1123, c. 17; Planck, IV. ii. 534.

[s] Chron. Casin. iv. 120.

[t] Ib. 95, 104-115; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VIII. ix.-x.; Annal. vi. 138, 261-2, ed. Lucca. The question was debated for many days before the emperor Lothair, cardinal Gerard (afterwards pope Celestine II.) acting as advocate for the pope, while Peter, the chronicler who reports the affair, was the champion of the monastery. Reginald was afterwards set aside, as having been irregularly elected; but, although the investiture of his successor, Wibald of Stablo, by the imperial sceptre is mentioned, it does not appear whether the pope exacted a profession of obedience from him. Chron. Casin. iv. 124; Tosti, ii. 72-8, 146.

[u] Gosceln. Transl. S. Aug. iii. 5, Patrol. clv.; W. Thorn, ap. Twysden, 1785, 1824; Tho. Elmham, 89 (Chron. and Mem.).

earliest undoubted grant of the mitre, however, is one which was made to the abbot of St. Maximin's, at Treves, by Gregory VII.[x] Among other privileges granted to monasteries were exemption from the payment of tithes and from the jurisdiction of legates;[y] exemption from excommunication except by the pope alone,[z] and from any interdict which might be laid on the country in which the monastery was situated;[a] permission that the abbots should wear the episcopal ring, gloves, and sandals, and should not be bound to attend any councils except those summoned by the pope himself.[b] The abbots of Cluny[c] and Vendome[d] were, by virtue of their office, cardinals of the Roman church.

In addition to the genuine grants, forgery was now very largely used to advance the pretensions of monastic bodies.[e] Thus we are told that Leo IX., on visiting Subiaco in 1051, found many spurious documents and committed them to the flames.[f] Even Monte Cassino did not disdain to make use of the forger's arts.[g] The monks of St. Medard's at Soissons were notorious for impostures of this kind; one of them, named Guerno,

[x] Giesel. II. ii. 304.

[y] Alex. II. Ep. 13 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Callist. II. Ep. 10, ap. Hard. vi. (for Vendôme). Abbot Samson of St. Edmund's Bury resisted the power of archbishop Hubert Walter as *legatus natus*, and got a letter from the pope declaring that he was subject only to legates *de latere*. Joscel. de Brakelonda, 61-3 (Camden Soc.).

[z] Alex. II. Ep. 14; Calixt. II. Ep. 22 (for Cluny).

[a] Paschal II. Ep. 66, ap. Hard. vi. (for Cluny).

[b] Alex. II. Ep. 13, in Patrol. cxlvi. (for Vendôme); Godefr. Vindoc. ap. Hard. vi. 1148. See Launoy, tom. iii. In the pontificate of Innocent III., the Premonstratensians resolved that no abbot of their order should use the mitre or gloves, "ne forsan ex ipsis supercilium elationis assumat, aut sibi videatur sublimis," and the pope confirmed this resolution. Ep. i. 197 (Patrol. ccxiv.).

[c] See p. 32.

[d] "Concedimus etiam omnibus hujus loci abbatibus ecclesiam Beatæ Priscæ." Alex. II. Ep. 13. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 383; Mabill. Annal. iv. 645; vi. 166; Thomass. III. xli. 20; Ducange, s. vv. *Abbates Mitrati*.

[e] As to mediæval forgeries in general see Muratori, Dissert., 34. (Antiq. iii.).

[f] Chron. Sublac. ap. Murat. xxiv. 932.

[g] See the Preface to the Chron. Casin. in Pertz, or in Patrol. clxxiii 468.

confessed on his death-bed that he had travelled widely, supplying monasteries with pretended "apostolic" privileges, and that among those who had employed him in such fabrications was the proud society of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury.[h]

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS TO THE DEATH OF POPE ADRIAN IV.

A.D. 1122-1159.

ALTHOUGH the concordat of Worms had been welcome both to the papal and to the imperialist parties as putting an end to the contest which had long raged between them, the terms of the compromise embodied in it did not remain in force beyond the death of Henry V., which took place at Utrecht in May 1125.[a] Henry had not taken the precaution of providing himself with a successor to the empire or to the German kingdom, nor was there any one who could pretend to election as being

[h] Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. Præf. v., or Patrol. cc. 1411. See Hist. Litt. xiv. 21. The forger was paid with some church ornaments, which he transferred to St. Medard's. We shall see hereafter that the monks of that house were not more scrupulous as to relics than as to documents (ch. xiii. iii. 9). See too as to forgery, Steph. Tornac., Ep. 214 (Patrol. ccxi.).

[a] Ekkehard in ann. (Patrol. cliv.). There are stories which represent Henry as withdrawing from the world as a penitent—in remorse, according to some writers, for having killed his father in battle! See R. Hoveden, i. 163, 181, ed. Stubbs (Chron.-Mem.), and the editor's Introduction, p. xxxiv. William of Nangis says that he entered a hospital at Angers, and mentions a pretender who rose up in his name (Chron. A D. 1126, in Dachery, Spicileg. iii.). Giraldus Cambrensis makes him turn hermit in Cheshire—Works, i. 186, ed. Brewer (Chron.-Mem.)—and hence infers that Henry II. of England was illegitimate, inasmuch as his mother was not a widow when she married Geoffrey of Anjou. (Cf. Chron. Monast. de Melsa, i. 152.) The Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert mentions another pretender who appeared in 1138, and, on being detected, became a monk at Cluny. Patrol. clx. 372.

his natural heir; and the princes of Germany saw in the circumstances of the vacancy an opportunity for gaining advantages at the expense of the crown. A letter is extant, addressed by such of them as had assembled for the emperor's funeral at Spires to their absent brethren, whom they exhort to remember the oppressions under which both the church and the kingdom had suffered, and to take care that the future sovereign should be one under whom both church and kingdom might be free from "so heavy a yoke of slavery."[b] It is supposed that this letter was drawn up by Archbishop Adalbert of Mentz, the bitter and vindictive enemy of the late emperor;[c] and in the election of a new king this prelate's influence was exerted in the spirit which the document had indicated. For this election sixty thousand men of the four chief nations of Germany—the Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians, and the Bavarians—assembled near Mentz, in the month of August, encamping on both sides of the Rhine, while the conferences of their leaders were held within the city. The attendance of prelates and nobles was such as had not been seen within the memory of living men; and under the direction of a papal legate, who was present, it was settled that the election should be conducted in a form analogous to that of a pope—that, as the pope was chosen by the cardinals, and the choice was ratified by the inferior clergy, so the king should be elected by ten representatives from each of the four chief nations, and their choice should be confirmed by the rest.[d] Three candidates were proposed—Frederick, duke of Swabia,

[b] Pertz, Leges, ii. 79. Henry in his last days had rendered himself very unpopular by intending, in accordance with a suggestion of Henry I. of England, to tax the whole kingdom. Otto Frising. vii. 16.

[c] Schmidt, ii. 531; Luden, x. n. 13. As to Adalbert, see above, p. 11.

[d] Anon. de Electione Lotharii, ap. Pertz, xiii. 510-12; Order. Vital. xii. 20; Raumer, i. 201.

Lothair, duke of Saxony, and Leopold, marquis of Austria; to whom some authorities add the name of a fourth—Charles "the Good," count of Flanders.[e] Both Lothair and Leopold, however, professed, with strong protestations, a wish to decline the honour; and it appeared as if the election were about to fall on Frederick, the son of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, who in the reign of Henry IV. had suddenly emerged from the undistinguished crowd of German nobles, and had been rewarded for his services with the dukedom of Swabia and the hand of the emperor's daughter.[f] But the younger Frederick was obnoxious to the hierarchical party on account of his connexion with the Franconian emperors, whose family estates he had inherited; while many of the lay princes, as well as the clergy, were unwilling to give themselves a king who was likely to assert too much of independence. Through Adalbert's artful policy it was contrived that the election should fall Aug. 24. on Lothair, who, while he still protested, struggled, and threatened, was raised on the shoulders of his partisans and proclaimed as king.[g]

Lothair, who was already advanced in life,[h] had been conspicuous for the steadiness of his opposition to the late dynasty, and on that account was popular with its enemies; he was respected for his courage and honesty;

[e] Godefr. Viterb. in Patrol. cxcviii. 986. The anonymous writer who is the chief authority for the election omits Charles (see Wattenbach's note in Pertz; Busk, i. 175); and one of the count's biographers states that he declined to become a candidate (Patrol. clxvi. 947-8). He was murdered in 1127.

Raumer, i. 186. Otto of Freising says that Frederick drew his origin "ex nobilissimis Sueviæ comitibus." De Gestis Frederici, i. 8, in Urstis.; cf. Chron. Ursperg. 209.

[g] Electio Lotharii, l. c.; Schmidt, ii 534-7; Sismondi. Hist. des Fr., v. 213 Luden, x. 4-16; Raumer, i. 210-11. Cf. Albert. Stadens. A.D. 1126. (Pertz, xvi.)

[h] Peter, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, who had seen much of him in his last days, describes him as a hundred years old at the time of his death (iv. 124, Patrol. clxxiii. 168. A.). If so, he was eighty-eight at his election; but others make him much younger. See Raumer, i. 232

and, after a slight display of opposition in some quarters, his election was received with general acquiescence.[i] But, although he had always professed himself a champion of the church, the clerical party, which had borne so large a part in his advancement, held it necessary to bind him by new conditions. It was stipulated that the church should have full liberty of election to bishopricks, without being controlled, "as formerly," by the presence of the sovereign, or restrained by any recommendation;[k] and that the emperor, after the consecration of a prelate so elected, should, without any payment, invest him with the regalia by the sceptre, and should receive of him an oath of fidelity "saving his order"—a phrase which was interpreted as excluding the ancient feudal form of homage.[l] No mention was made of the concordat of Worms, by which the presence of the prince at elections had been allowed, and, while the formality of homage had been left untouched, it had been provided that, in the case of German bishops, investiture should precede consecration;[m] and this disregard of the reservations made at Worms in behalf of the crown was justified by the hierarchical party under the pretence that they had been granted to Henry V. alone, and not to his successors.[n] A further proof of the change which had taken place in the relations of the papal and the imperial powers is furnished by the circumstance that two bishops were sent to Rome, with a prayer that the pope would confirm the election of the king.[o]

The pontificate of Calixtus II. was distinguished by the vigour of his home administration. At the Lateran

[i] Ekkehard, A.D. 1123-4; Order. Vital. xii. 20; Luden, x. 6.

[k] "Petitione."

[l] Electio Loth. c. 6. (Cf. c. 7. "A nullo tamen spiritualium, ut moris erat, hominium vel accepit vel coëgit.") Schmidt, ii. 538-9; Luden, x. 18.

[m] See above, p. 26. Yet it would seem that the matter virtually remained as before. See Schmidt, iii. 233.

[n] Otto Frising. vii. 16.

[o] Annal. S. Disibod. A.D. 1125 (Pertz, xvii.); Schmidt, ii. 539; Planck, iv. 334-6.

Council of 1123,[p] he enacted canons against the invasion of ecclesiastical property and the conversion of churches into fortresses.[q] He suppressed Mar. 1123. the practice of carrying arms within the city, which had grown up during the long contest with the empire, and had become the provocation to continual and bloody affrays; and in other ways he exerted himself successfully against the lawlessness and disorder which had prevailed among the Romans.[r] On the death of Calixtus, in December 1124, a cardinal named Theobald Buccapecus (or Boccadipecora) was chosen as his successor, and assumed the name of Celestine; but, after he had been invested with the papal robe, and while the cardinals were engaged in singing the *Te Deum* for the election, Robert Frangipani, the most powerful of the Roman nobles,[s] burst with a band of armed men into the church where they were assembled, and insisted that Lambert, cardinal bishop of Ostia (a prudent and learned man,[t] who had acted as the late pope's legate at Worms), should be chosen. Theobald, although his election was unimpeachable, and although he had received the vote of Lambert himself, thought it well to prevent a schism by voluntarily withdrawing from the contest; and Lambert, having some days later been elected in a more regular manner, held the papacy, under the name of Honorius II., until 1130.[u] But on his Feb. 14, 1130. death a serious schism arose, through the rival elections of Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo,[x] and Peter Leonis, cardinal of St. Mary in the Trastevere, the

[p] See above, p. 26.

[q] Cc. 8, 9, 11, 15.

[r] Will. Malmes. 667; Gibbon, vi. 335

[s] For the origin of the family, see Gregorovius, iv. 383-4.

[t] Oderisius, abbot of Monte Cassino, on being asked by his monks as to the pope's parentage, answered, "Ignorare se, cujus filius esset: unum tamen pro certo scire, quod plenus esset litteris a capite usque ad pedes." Chron. Casin. iv. 83.

[u] Pandulph. Pisan. in Murat. III. i. 421; Murat. Annal. VI. ii. 190; Jaffé, 549-50; Milman, iii. 324; Gregorov. iv. 386.

[x] As to his family, see Gregorovius, iv. 401.

grandson of a wealthy Jew, who had been baptized under the pontificate of Leo IX., and had taken at his baptism the name of that pope. The "Leonine family," or Pierleoni (as they were called), had since risen to great power in Rome;[y] their wealth had been increased by the continued practice of those national arts which they had not renounced with the faith of their forefathers; while their political ability had been displayed in high offices, and in the conduct of important negociations. For a time the Jewish pedigree seems to have been almost forgotten, and their genealogy (like that of other great mediæval families, and probably with equal truth) was afterwards deduced from the illustrious Anicii and the imperial Julii of ancient Rome.[z] The future anti-pope himself had studied at Paris, had been a monk of Cluny, had been raised to the dignity of cardinal by Paschal II., and had been employed as a legate in England and in France—on one occasion as the colleague of his future rival, Gregory.[a] The circumstances of the election are variously reported; but from a comparison of the reports it would appear that Gregory (who styled himself Innocent II.) was chosen in the church of St. Gregory on the Cœlian, immediately after the death of Honorius, with such haste that the proper formalities were neglected; whereas the election of Peter, which took place in St. Mark's at a later hour of the same day, was more regular, and was supported by a majority of the cardinals.[b] And the inference in favour of Peter (or Anacletus II.) is strengthened by the circumstance that

[y] Chron. Mauriniac. in Patrol. clxxx. 157.

[z] Gregorov. iv. 393-6. Ciaconius derives them from the Julii. i. 1005.

[a] Eadmer. Hist. Novorum, l. vi.; Mabillon in Patrol. clxxxii. 33-4.

[b] See the letters in Patrol. clxxix. 37, seqq.; Card. de Aragon. ib 31; Anon. Vatican. ap. Baron. 1130. 3; Suger, in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1330; Chron. Maurin. l. c.; Will. Malmesb. 695; Muratori, Annali, VI. ii. 212-13; Neander's 'Bernard,' 87; Luden, x. 52; Raumer, i. 221; Milman, iii. 326; Gregorov. iv. 398-9.

his opponent's partisans, while they continually insist on the question of personal merit, are studious to avoid that of legality as to the circumstances of the election.

The rival popes were not, as in former cases, representatives of opposite principles, but merely of the rival interests of the Frangipani and the Leonine factions.[c] Each of them, at his election, had gone through the pretence of professing unwillingness to accept the papacy;[d] and each of them now endeavoured to strengthen himself for the assertion of his title to it. In Rome itself Anacletus prevailed. His enemies tell us that not only was he supported by the power and wealth of his family, but that he had formerly swelled his treasures by all the corrupt means which were open to him as a cardinal or a legate; that he plundered the treasury, that he compelled pilgrims by imprisonment and hunger to submit to merciless exactions, that he melted down the plate of churches, even employing Jews to break up chalices and crucifixes when Christian tradesmen shrank from such impiety.[e] His connection with the hated and unbelieving race is eagerly caught up as matter of reproach; and he is charged with scandalous and even revolting dissoluteness.[f] That Innocent is not assailed by similar

[c] Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 290.

[d] See Innoc. Ep. 4 (Patrol. clxxix.); Neander's 'Bernard,' 88.

[e] Henr. ep. Lucensis, in Patrol. clxxix. 40-2; Pandulf. Pisan. ib. 31; Bernard. Guidonis, ib. 27; Innoc. epp. 4, 5 (ib.); Vita Bernardi, ii. 1 (ib. xxxv.); Codex Udalr. ep. 345.

[f] Arnulf. Lexov. in Patrol. cci. 181-3. In the controversies of that age, such charges were matters of course, so that the mere statement of them carries no weight. There are three letters of earlier date from St. Bernard (Epp. 17-19) to a cardinal named Peter, whom Dean Milman, notwithstanding Mabillon's doubts (Patrol. clxxxii. 35), supposes to be Peter Leonis; and, in addition to the laudatory language of these letters, the fact of the confidence placed in him by Calixtus II. tells in his favour (see Luden, x. 50; Milman, iii. 327). It is said that in his youth Peter was supposed to be the anti-Christ (who was traditionally expected to be of Jewish origin), and even that he prided himself on this (Arnulf, 180; Chron. Mauriniac. Patrol. clxxx. 157). Arnulf of Lisieux describes him as one "qui Judaicam facie repræsentet imaginem" (l. c.); but M. Le Prevost is mistaken in identifying him with a son of the elder Peter Leonis, described by Orderic as having been a hostage at Reims in 1119—"nigrum et pallidum adolescentem, magis Judæo vel Agareno quam

reproaches may have been the effect either of superior character in himself or of greater forbearance in the party which opposed him. The wealth of Anacletus was employed in raising soldiers and in corrupting the venal Romans; he got possession of St. Peter's by force; and in no long time the nobles who had adhered to Innocent, and had sheltered his partisans in their fortified houses—even the Frangipani themselves —were gained over by the rival pope or were terrified into submission. Finding himself without support in his own city, Innocent resolved to throw himself on that kingdom which had lately afforded a refuge to his predecessor Gelasius; he therefore left Conrad, cardinal-bishop of Sabina,[g] as his representative at Rome, sailed down the Tiber in the end of May, and after having spent some time at Pisa and at Genoa, he landed in September at St. Gilles in Provence.[h] The course which the king and the church of France were to take in the dispute as to the papacy was mainly determined by two abbots, who stood in the highest repute for sanctity, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Cluny.

Bernard, the third son of a knight named Tesselin, was born at Fontaines, near Dijon, in 1091.[i] His mother, Aletha, or Alice, was a woman of devout character, and

Christiano similem, vestibus quidem optimis indutum, sed corpore deformem"—whom the French derided out of hatred for his father, "that most wicked usurer." Ord. Vital., ed. Le Prevost, iv. 384-5.

[g] It may be well to note that, while the church of St. Sabina, on the Aventine, gave the title to a cardinal-presbyter, the "Episcopus Sabinensis," who was one of the cardinal-bishops, took his title, not from any town, but from the province of Sabina, his see being at Magliano (Ughelli, i. 154). The name of Sabina was also connected with the bishoprick of the Marsi, as the bishop, having no proper cathedral, made use of a church of St. Sabina, near the eastern shore of the Lake of Celano. Clement VIII., about the year 1600, sanctioned the transfer of this see to Pescina, in the same neighbourhood. Ib. 883, 914-15.

[h] Pand. Pisan. in Patrol. clxxix. 31; Card. Aragon., ib. 31-3; Anacl. ep. 9, ib.; Vita Bernardi, ii. 1, 3; ib. clxxxv; Jaffé, 561-2.

[i] Alan. Altissiod. Vita Bern. 1 (Patrol. clxxxv.); Vita Prima, i. 1 (ib.); Chifflet, 'S. Bernardi Genus illustre assertum' (ib.); Acta Sanctorum (ib.) 643; Neander's 'Bernard,'

dedicated her children—six sons and one daughter—in their infancy to God; but Bernard—a gentle, thoughtful, studious, and silent boy—was the one in whom she placed the strongest hope of seeing her desire fulfilled.[k] As he was entering on youth, Aletha died, taking part to the last moment of her life in the devotions of the clergy who were gathered around her bed;[l] but her influence remained with him. The earnestness of his resistance to the temptations of youth was shown by standing for hours up to the neck in chilling water; and other stories to the same purpose are related of him. He believed that his mother often appeared to him in visions, for the purpose of warning him lest his studies (like those of many others in that time) should degenerate into a mere pursuit of literature, apart from the cultivation of religion; and, after much mental distress, the crisis of his life took place as he was on his way to visit his brothers, who were engaged in a military expedition under the duke of Burgundy. Entering a church by the wayside, he "poured out his heart like water before the sight of God"; he resolved to devote himself to the monastic state, and forthwith endeavoured to bring his nearest relations to join in the resolution.[m] The first of his converts was his uncle Waldric, a distinguished and powerful warrior; and one by one his five brothers also yielded. The eldest, Guy, who was married and had children, was restrained for a time by his wife's unwillingness; but a sudden illness convinced her that it "was hard for her to kick against the pricks." To another brother, Gerard, who was strenuous in his refusal, Bernard declared that no-

[k] Vita I^ma, i. 2, 3; Alan, 1.

[l] "Obdormivit psallentibus clericis qui convenerant, et ipsa pariter psallens, ut in extremis quoque, cum jam vox ejus audiri non posset, adhuc moveri labia viderentur, et lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri. Demum inter litaniæ supplicationes, cum diceretur, 'Per passionem et crucem tuam libera eam, Domine,' elevans manum signavit se, et emisit spiritum, ita ut manum non posset deponere quam levaverat." Vita I^ma, i. 5. Cf. Alan. 6.

[m] Vita I., i. 6-9.

thing but affliction would bring him to a right mind, and, laying his finger on a certain place in his side, he told him that even there a lance should penetrate. The prophecy was fulfilled by Gerard's being wounded and made prisoner; and, on recovering his liberty (not without the assistance of a miracle) he joined the company which Bernard was forming.[n] As Bernard at the head of his converts was leaving the family mansion in order to fulfil their resolution, the eldest brother observed the youngest, Nivard, at play, and told him that the inheritance would now all fall to him;—"Is it, then, heaven for you and earth for me?" said the boy, "that is no fair division;" and he too, after a time, broke away from his father to join the rest.[o] The old man himself followed, and at length the devotion of the family to the monastic life was completed by the adhesion of the sister, who renounced the married state, with the wealth and the vanities in which she had delighted.[p] For six months the brothers resided in a house at Châtillon, for the purpose of settling their worldly affairs before entering the cloister.[q] Others in the meantime were induced to join them, and in 1113 Bernard, with more than thirty companions, presented himself for admission at Cîteaux—a monastery which he chose for the sake of its rigour, and as offering the best hope of escaping the notice of men.[r] The progress of the Cistercian order had been slow, on account of the severity of its discipline, so that Stephen Harding, the third abbot, had almost despaired of spiritual offspring to carry on his system. But the vision by which he had been consoled, of a multitude washing their white garments in a fountain,[s] was now to be rapidly fulfilled.

[n] Vita I., i. 10.

[o] Ib. 17; Alan, 14.

[p] Vita I., i. 30; Alan, 22.

[q] This is noted as a singularity—"Hoc enim illis temporibus, et in illis erat partibus inauditum, ut alicujus adhuc in sæculo commorantis conversio præsciretur." Vita I., i. 15.

[r] Ib. i. 8, 15, 19.

[s] Ib. 18. The vision is attributed to the second abbot, Alberic, by his biographer, c. 3, Acta SS. Jan. 26.

By the accession of Bernard[t] and his company, the original monastery became too narrow to contain its inmates, and in the same year the "eldest daughter," the monastery of La Ferté, was founded. This was followed in 1114 by the foundation of Pontigny; and in 1115 Bernard himself was chosen to lead forth a fresh colony to a place which had been the haunt of a band of robbers, and known as "The Valley of Wormwood,"[u] but which now exchanged its name for that of Clairvaux —The Bright Valley. For a time, the hardships which the little community had to bear were excessive. They suffered from cold and from want of clothing; they were obliged to live on porridge made of beech-leaves;[x] and when the season of necessity was past, their voluntary mortifications were such as to strike all who saw them with astonishment. Their bread, wrung by their labour from an ungracious soil, was "not so much branny as earthy"; their food (it is said) had no savour but what was given to it by hunger or by the love of God; everything that could afford pleasure to the appetite was regarded as poison.[y] A monk of another order, who visited Clairvaux, carried off a piece of the bread as a curiosity, and used to show it with expressions of wonder that men, and yet more, that such men, could live on such provi-

[t] The Cistercians were often called Bernardines; but any member of the order who spoke of it by any other than its proper name was liable to a day's penance on bread and water. Stat. General. A.D. 1197, in Martene Thes. iv. 1289.

[u] This name is referred both to its production of that herb and to the fact of its having been inhabited by robbers. See Vita, i. 25.

[x] Ib.; Joh. Eremita, Patrol. clxxxv. 670. See Mabillon, Præf. 34.

[y] Vita, i. 36. Compare the account of the last abbot of Clairvaux before the French Revolution—"He had the disposal of £15,000 or £20,000 a year, had very nice carriages, and never stirred without four horses and an outrider. He caused himself to be called Your Grace by his monks and the persons who composed his court, and also by the numerous applicants for his favours. . . . When despoiled of all this by the Revolution. . . he retired to Bar-sur-Aube, with a housekeeper and a daughter by her." Mem. of Count Beugnot, translated by Miss Yonge, i. 70-1 (Lond. 1871).

sions.[z] But we are told that miracles came to the aid of the monks. When they were in the extremity of need, opportune supplies of money unexpectedly arrived; in a famine, when they undertook to feed the poor of the neighbourhood, their corn was miraculously multiplied; and from these assistances they drew a confidence in the Divine protection, so that they ceased to disturb their abbot with anxieties about worldly things.[a]

Bernard himself carried his mortifications to an extreme of rigour. He prayed standing, until his knees and his feet failed him through weariness; he fasted until his digestion was so deranged that to eat was a torture to him; he grudged the scanty time which he allowed himself for sleep, as being wasted in a state of death.[b] He shared beyond his strength in the ruder labours of the monks, such as the work of the fields and the carrying of wood. "It was," says one of his biographers, "as if a lamb were yoked to the plough and compelled to drag it."[c] Much of his time was spent in study; but, although he read the orthodox expositors, he declared that he preferred to learn the sense of Scripture from itself, that his best teachers were the oaks and beeches among which he meditated in solitude.[d] By the severity of his exercises, it is said that he had extinguished his bodily senses; for many days together he ate blood, supposing it to be butter; he drank oil without knowing it from water; after having spent a year at Cîteaux, he could not tell whether the roof of the novices' chamber was vaulted or not, nor whether the east end of the church had two windows or three; and for a whole day

[z] Vita I., i. 25. [a] Ib. 27, 49.

[b] Ib. 5, 21, 22, 23, 39; Rob. Antissiod. in Bouquet, xii. 290.

[c] Vita, i. 39.

[d] Ib. 23; cf. Ep. 106 (to Henry Murdach, afterwards archbishop of York)—"Experto crede; aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te quod a magistris audire non possis." See Mabillon in Patrol. clxxxii. 27; Nic. de Clemangis, Ep. 10, p. 19.

he walked along the shore of the Leman lake without being aware that any water was near.[e] Hearing that his life was in danger from his excessive mortifications, William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons on the Marne, by whom he had been ordained, repaired to Cîteaux, and, prostrating himself before the abbots of the order, who were assembled in a general chapter, requested that Bernard might be committed to his care for a year. The request was granted, and the bishop placed the abbot in a small hut outside his monastery, "like those usually made for lepers at the crossings of the highways,"[f] with orders that he should not be disquieted with business or allowed to indulge in his usual austerities. By this (although the bishop's orders were but imperfectly obeyed) Bernard's life was probably saved; but, when the year was at an end, he plunged into ascetic exercises more violently than before, as if to compensate for his forced relaxations.[g] In later years, Bernard expressed disapprobation of such excess in mortification as that by which he had weakened his own body and impaired his vigour;[h] yet the appearance of his pale face and macerated form, the contrast of bodily weakness with inward strength, contributed greatly to enhance the effect of his powerful voice and his gushing flow of language, his

[e] Vita, i. 20, 33; iii. 2, 4.

[f] Ib. i. 33. Megliuger, a monk of Wettingen in Switzerland, who visited Clairvaux in 1667, tells us that this hut was preserved with reverence, as was also the original monastery, having its chapel, its dormitory, and its refectory, with a bare earthen floor, all under one roof. Patrol. clxxxv. 1605-8.

[g] Vita I., i. 31-3, 38. See Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 406.

[h] 'De Consideratione,' i. c. 8. Yet when his pupil, Bernard of Pisa (to whom, as Pope Eugenius III., that treatise is addressed), consulted him at an earlier time as to the use of medicine, in order to counteract the unwholesome air of the Tre Fontane near Rome, the abbot of Clairvaux replied by forbidding all other remedies than such simple herbs as were within the reach of the poor (Ep. 345). Mabillon, in his note on the passage, and also in his Annals, professes himself unable to enter into such scruples. "Hæc communem mortalium captum adeo superant, ut homines cœlestes fuisse oporteat qui sic se gesserint." Annal. Bened. vi. 323.

strong conviction, and the burning fervour with which he spoke.[i] To persons of every class he knew how to address himself in the style most suitable to their understanding and feelings;[k] and over all kinds of men, from the sovereign to the serf, he exercised an irresistible power. Whenever he went forth from his solitude, says a biographer, he carried with him, like Moses, from his intercourse with heaven, a glory of more than mortal purity, so that men looked on him with awe, and his words sounded to them as the voice of an angel.[l] To his other means of influence was added the reputation of prophetic visions and of miraculous gifts. Not only is it said that he healed by his touch, but there are many such stories as that bread which he had blessed produced supernatural effects both on the bodies and on the minds of those who ate it; that water in which he had washed his hands cured the ailment of a man who had been charged in a vision to drink it; that his stole cast out a devil; and that a blind man recovered his sight by placing himself on a spot where the saintly abbot had stood.[m] Of the reality of his miracles Bernard himself appears to have been convinced, and we are told that they were a matter of perplexity to him; but that, after much consideration, he concluded that they were granted for the good of others, and were no ground for supposing himself to be holier or more favoured than other men.[n] When

[i] Wibald. Ep. 147, in Patrol. clxxxix. 1255; Odo de Deogilo, ib. clxxxv. 1207; Anselm. Havelberg. 'Apol. pro Clericis Regularibus,' Patrol. clxxxviii. 1128.

[k] Vita, i. 29; iii. 6. [l] Ib. i. 28.

[m] Ib. i. 43, seqq., 55; ii. 46; iii. 17; iv. 24-5, 30, 37; vii. 27, etc.

[n] Ib. iii. 20. On the miracles, see Schröckh, xxvii. 265-9; Neander's 'Bernard,' 110-13; Ch. Hist. vii. 355-7. Bernard himself says, in preaching on St. Mark, xvi. 17-18, "Quis, inquam, dæmonia ejicit, linguis novis loquitur, serpentes tollit? Quid ergo? Si nemo hæc habet, aut perpauci nostris videntur habere temporibus." . . . . . (Sermo in Ascensione Domini, i. 2.) But this passage does not warrant the statement which has been founded on it, that he supposed "miracles to be no longer wrought in the Church" (Robins, on 'The Claims of the Rom. Ch.', 469), as he evidently speaks of one class of miracles only, and even as to that makes the reservation "aut perpauci."

recommended by such a man, the rigour which at first had deterred from the Cistercian order became a powerful attraction; Clairvaux was beset by candidates for admission; the number of its inmates rose to seven hundred, among whom the king's brother Henry, afterward archbishop of Reims, was to be seen submitting to the same severe discipline as the rest; and the number of monasteries founded by Bernard, in person or through his disciples, amounted to a hundred and sixty, scattered over every country of the west, but subject, as was believed, to a preternatural knowledge of their affairs which enabled him to watch over all.[o] Wives were afraid for their husbands, and mothers hid their sons, lest they should fall under the fascination of Bernard's eloquence, and desert the world for the cloister.[p] As the chief representative of the age's feelings, the chief model of the character which it most revered, he found himself, apparently without design, and even unconsciously, elevated to a position of such influence as no ecclesiastic, either before or since his time, has attained. Declining the dignities to which he saw a multitude of his followers promoted,[q] the abbot of Clairvaux was for a quarter of a century the real soul and director of the papacy; he guided the policy of emperors and kings, and swayed the deliberations of councils; nay, however little his character and the training of his own mind might have fitted him for such a work, the authority of his sanctity was such as even to control the intellectual development of the age which owned him as its master.

In the schism which had now arisen, Bernard zealously espoused the interest of Innocent.[r] At a council which king Lewis summoned at Étampes for the consideration

[o] Vita, i. 62-3; v. 13; Neander, vii. 352.

[p] Vita, i. 15, 61; Alan, 12.

[q] Alan, i. 25; Vita, ii. 27.

[r] See his Epistle, 124, to Hildebert of Tours, who for a time was undecided.

of the question, the abbot of Clairvaux is said to have spoken as if by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and the assembly, in accordance with his opinion, pronounced in favour of Innocent—not, apparently, as having been the most regularly elected (for it is said that the notorious disorderliness of Roman elections led them to pay little regard to this point),[s] but mainly on the ground of his superior personal merit.[t]

Unequalled as Bernard's influence became, however, perhaps that of Peter "the Venerable" was at this time yet more important to Innocent. For Anacletus had himself been a monk of Cluny, and had reckoned on the support of his order; so that the ready and spontaneous declaration of the abbot in behalf of Innocent inflicted the severest blow on the rival claimant of the papacy.[u] And the character of Peter was such as to give all weight to his decision. Elected to the headship of his order at the age of thirty, he had recovered Cluny from the effects of the disorders caused by his predecessor, Pontius,[x] and had once more established its reputation as a seat of piety, learning, and arts.[y] In him the monastic spirit had not extinguished the human affections, but was combined with a mildness, a tolerance, and a charity which he was able to reconcile with the strictest orthodoxy.[z] The reputation of the "venerable" abbot was such that emperors, kings, and high ecclesiastical personages revered his judgment; and when it became known that Innocent had reached Cluny with

[s] Suger, Patrol. clxxxv. 1351.

[t] Vita Bern. ii. 3; Arnulf. Lexov. de Schismate, 5 (Patrol. cci.); Chron. Maurin. ap. Bouquet. xii. 79; Hefele, v. 363. The date of this council is supposed to have been before May 1, 1130. See Luden, x. 583.

[u] See Anacl. Ep. 6 (Patrol. clxxix.); Pet. Ep. ii. 3 (ib. clxxxix.); Vita Pet. Ven., c. 4 (ib.); Order. Vital. xiii. 3; Daunou in Hist. Litt. xiii. 243.

[x] See above, p. 32.

[y] See Ord. Vital. in Patrol. clxxxviii. 935, as to his reforms in discipline.

[z] See Schröckh, xxvii. 242-3; Neander, Ch. Hist. vii. 346-7, and 'Bernard,' 71-2.

a train of sixty horses, provided by the abbot for his conveyance, the effect of this signal declaration against the Cluniac antipope was widely and strongly felt.[a] At Cluny Innocent spent eleven days, and on the 25th of October, the anniversary of the dedication of the high altar by Urban II., he consecrated the new church of the monastery.[b] There he was welcomed in the name of the French king by Suger, abbot of St. Denys; and in the beginning of 1131 he was received by Lewis himself at Fleury, with the deepest demonstrations of respect.[c]

With a view of enlisting Henry of England in the same cause, Bernard had undertaken a journey into his continental territory; and, notwithstanding the opposition of many prelates, who are said to have represented that Innocent, as a fugitive, would be a burden to the king and to his people,[d] the abbot had met with his wonted success. On Henry's hesitating,—"Are you afraid," asked Bernard, "that you may sin by giving your obedience to Innocent? Think how you may answer for your other sins, and let this rest on me!" The king's reluctance was overcome, and he accompanied Bernard to Chartres, where Innocent received his assurances of support, with the magnificent presents which accompanied them.[e] Jan. 13.

Anacletus had proposed that the question between himself and his rival should be decided by an ecclesiastical council or by the emperor; but the proposal was declined by Innocent, on the ground that he was already rightful pope.[f] Each party continued, by strenuous exertions, to endeavour to enlist adherents. The cardinals who supported Innocent wrote to Lothair, that,

[a] Vita Pet. 4; Ord. Vit. xiii. 2; Mabill. Annal. Bened. vi. 171.

[b] Epp. 89, 91 (Patrol. clxxix.); Pagi, xviii. 439; Jaffé, 568.

[c] Chron. Maurin., Patrol. clxxx. 158; Suger, ib. clxxix. 1331.

[d] Arnulf. Lexov. de Schism. 6.

[e] Vita Bern. ii. 4; Suger, 1331.

[f] See Ord. Vit. xiii. 4; Neander's 'Bernard,' 95-6.

after their election had been made at the third hour, the Jewish antipope was chosen at the sixth—the hour when the Redeemer was crucified by the Jews, and when a thick darkness overspread the world. They dwell on his alleged impieties and other misdeeds; they assure Lothair that the whole East joins in anathematizing the pretender, and they entreat the king of the Romans himself to support their cause.[g]

With no less eagerness and confidence, Anacletus endeavoured to make interest in all quarters. He insisted on the validity of his election, which he described as unanimous,[h] although he admitted that he was opposed by a few sons of Belial, on whom he lavishes all the treasures of ecclesiastical abuse.[i] He reminds some to whom he writes of their ancient friendship with his father;[k] to others he recalls his own friendly relations with them; to the Cluniacs, his connexion with their order and its chief monastery.[l] He, too, boasts of his powerful supporters—that he is acknowledged throughout the whole of Rome, and that the East is with him;[m] and it would seem that he endeavoured to verify this boast by a letter to the king of Jerusalem, in which he vaguely promises to do great things for the holy city.[n] But the success of these endeavours was very small. For a time bishops of the opposite parties contended in dioceses,

[g] Patrol. clxxix. 37.

[h] Ep. 10, ib.

[i] *E. g.*, "Verum quidam falsi fratres, filii Belial, filii pestilentiæ, filii Agar, sapientiam quæ de terra est exquirentes, inebriati calice iræ Domini, Dei dispositioni et constitutioni ecclesiasticæ cursu improbo visi sunt contraire. Quorum caput est Aimericus, quondam cancellarius, avaritiæ servus, histrionum et scurrarum delirus incentor, ecclesiarum exspoliator [*al.* expilator], servorum Dei improbus exactor, alter Giezi, qui simoniis publicis et privatis lepram Naaman et maledictionem Dei est vere sortitus . . . Latrant in nos canes impudentissimi, et ore vipereo detrahunt, et fœtentem crapulam eructantes, in Dei ecclesia de sua pessima conscientia multa ore fœtidissimo evomunt." (Ep. 6.) The Hebrew pope even ventures to speak of one opponent as "uncircumcised." Ep. 9.

[k] Ep. 5.

[l] Epp. 6, 9.

[m] Epp. 9, 40.

[n] Ep. 22.

and rival abbots disputed the headship of monasteries ;[o] but the great orders all declared in favour of Innocent.[p] The letters which Anacletus addressed to princes and prelates remained without acknowledgment,[q] and th only secular power which he was able to secure to his side was that of the southern Normans. The position of the rivals was expressed by a verse which spoke of Peter as having Rome, while Gregory had the whole world.[r]

Although Anacletus had declared himself in favour of Lothair, instead of throwing himself into the interest of the Hohenstaufen family,[s] and although Lothair had been importuned in his behalf by a letter written in the name of the Romans,[t] Germany was won to the side of Innocent by legates who appeared before a diet at Würzburg, and it was arranged that the king should meet the pope at Liége. The assemblage collected in that city for the occasion was imposing from the number of prelates and nobles who attended. Lothair received the pope with the greatest reverence, held the rein of his horse while he rode through

March 22-9, 1131.

[o] Ord. Vit. xiii. 3. Hugh, archbishop of Capua, who had been consecrated by Anacletus, on being ejected, married and practised physic at Rome. Hist. Pontificalis in Pertz., xx. 520.

[p] See his complaints, Epp. 10-12, 18, 47.

[q] Arnulf. Lexov., in Patrol. cci. 193-4 ; Bern. Ep. cxxvi. 9, 10.

[r] Romam Petrus habet, totum Gregorius orbem."—*Rob. de Monte*, A.D. 1130.

It has been very commonly said that Scotland was with Anacletus, and did not submit to Innocent until after the death of his rival (Mosh. ii. 448 ; Grub, i. 262 ; E. W. Robertson, i. 10 ; Jos. Robertson, Introd. 27). But the only authority for this seems to be a passage in Richard of Hexham—"Illi [Scoti] vero diu a Cisalpina, imo fere ab universa ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petroleoni et apostasiæ ejus *nimium favisse videbantur*" (Twysden, 325)—where, with the strongest wish to make out his hated neighbours to have been schismatics, the chronicler does not go so far as to state positively that they were such. On the other hand the chronicle of Melrose mentions Innocent as the successor o Honorius (A.D. 1130), and records the death of Anacletus thus—"Obiit Petrus Leo antipapa" (1138) ; and St. Bernard, as early as 1131, expressly mentions Scotland as adhering to Innocent. Ep. cxxv. 2.

[s] Anacl. Epp. i. 2, 18 (Patrol. clxxix).

[t] Baron. 1130. 24.

the streets,[u] and, with his wife Richenza, was crowned by his hands in the cathedral.[x] The king promised to go into Italy, and to seat Innocent in St. Peter's chair; but when, in consideration of this aid, he desired that the privilege of investiture should be restored to him,—representing, it is said, that the weakening of the imperial power by the cession of this was a weakening of the papacy itself,[y]—a serious difference arose. To the Romans who were present, the proposal appeared to involve evils even worse than the ascendency of the antipope in Rome;[z] but their repugnance might have been unavailing if it had not been reinforced by the authority of Bernard, to whose firm opposition Lothair found himself obliged to yield.[a] But in questions which soon after arose as to various sees—especially those of Treves and Verdun—he showed that he was no longer disposed, as at the time of his election, to give up the privileges which had been reserved to the crown by the concordat of Worms, but, agreeably to the terms of that treaty, he insisted that the bishops should receive investiture before consecration.[b]

Returning into France, Innocent spent the Easter

[u] Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, Patrol. clxxxvi. 1331.

[x] Anselm. Gemblac., A.D. 1131 (Patrol. clx.).

[y] Otto Frising. vii. 18; Chron. Ursperg. 212.

[z] Vita Bern. ii. 5.

[a] The amount of what Lothair asked is variously stated. Some, as Hefele and Luden, think that he did not wish to get rid of the terms agreed on at Worms, but only to be released from he further concessions which he had made at his election; but that his object was really nothing less than to recover the power of investiture seems probable from Bernard's language, Ep. 150—"Sed nec Leodii cervicibus imminens mucro barbaricus compulit acquiescere importunis improbisque postulationibus iracundi atque irascentis regis." Peter of Monte Cassino is certainly wrong in saying that the pope granted to Lothair "virgam et annulum juxta morem antiquum," and also the inheritance of the Countess Matilda (Patrol. clxxiii. 919). See Card. de Aragon., 33 (ib. clxxix.); Schröckh, xxvii. 101; Planck, iv. 336-8; Patrol. clxxxv. 727; Luden. x. 67-8, 79; Gieseler, II. ii. 67; Hefele, v. 367.

[b] Gesta Alberonis Trevir., Patrol. cliv. 1317-22; Gesta Epp. Virdun., ib. cciv. 955-6; Planck, iv. 339; Gieseler, II. ii. 68.

season at Paris and St. Denys, where he was received with splendid hospitality;[c] and in October he held a council at Reims, which was attended by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and sixty-three bishops.[d] Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians, and now archbishop of Magdeburg, appeared on the part of the German king, to renew his promises of assistance, and to efface the remembrance of the late disputes.[e] The kings of England, of Aragon, and of Castile were also represented by prelates who tendered in their names assurances of obedience and support. Lewis of France was present in person; and, as his son and colleague, Philip, had lately been killed by a fall from his horse in a street of Paris,[f] a younger son, Lewis, at that time ten years old, was crowned in his stead.[g]

Oct. 18.

Bernard had by his personal intercourse acquired an unbounded influence over Innocent, so that although the pope still appeared to consult in public with his cardinals, it was known that he was really under the guidance of the abbot of Clairvaux, to whom all who desired any favour from the pope addressed themselves.[h] From Reims Innocent proceeded to visit Clairvaux,

[c] Suger, in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1332. Orderic says that the expense of entertaining the pope was severely felt—"Immensam gravedinem ecclesiis Galliarum ingessit, utpote qui Romanos officiales cum multis clientibus secum habuit, et de redditibus apostolicæ sedis in Italia nihil adipisci potuit." xiii. 3.

[d] Ord. Vital. l. c. By some writers this council is placed before the meeting at Liége. But see Mabillon, Præf. in Bern. c. 43; Pagi, xviii. 476.

[e] Chron. Maurin., Patrol. clxxx. 162.

[f] Suger, 1333; Ord. Vit. xiii. 3; Chron. Sithiens. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 469. This is said to have been the consequence of a threat which Bernard had uttered on account of the king's misbehaviour in some ecclesiastical affairs. (Vita Bern. iv. 11.) Robert of Dreux, who was older than Philip, had been set aside on account of incapacity. Joh. Iper. in Mart. Thes. iii. 635.

[g] A sermon on the faults of bishops and clergy, said to have been delivered by Bernard before this council, is printed in Patrol. clxxxiv. 1079, seqq., but appears to be a reminiscence of what he really said, written down by a hearer fifteen years after (see Pez, VI. i. 337). Mabillon (not. in loc.) thinks it too insolent and coarse to be genuine. See Theiner, ii. 346; Hefele, v. 369.

[h] Vita Bern. ii. 5.

where he was the more deeply impressed by the austerity of the Cistercian system from its contrast with the magnificence of Cluny. The "poor of Christ," according to Bernard's biographer, received him, not in purple and fine linen, not with the display of gilded books and splendid furniture, not with the loud blare of trumpets; but their coarsely-attired procession carried a cross of stone, and greeted him with a low chant of psalms. The pope and his attendant bishops were moved to tears at the sight, while the monks, with their eyes fixed on the ground, would not allow themselves to look at their visitors. It was with awe that these beheld the simple oratory with its naked walls, the refectory with its bare earthen floor, the rude and scanty provisions of the brotherhood—even fish being served up for the pope's table only. The solemnities of the choir were painfully disturbed by a monk who suddenly exclaimed, "I am the Christ!" but we are told that the demon who had prompted this outbreak was immediately quelled by the prayers of Bernard and his brethren.[j]

In April 1132, Innocent crossed the Alps on his return to Italy, having addressed from Lyons a letter to Bernard, by which, in acknowledgment of his services, the pope bestowed exemptions and other privileges on Clairvaux and on the whole Cistercian order.[k] After having spent the summer in Lombardy, he met Lothair in the plains of Roncaglia in November.[l] Since the election of the German king, the interest of the Hohenstaufen had been strengthened by the return of Frederick's brother Conrad from the Holy Land; and as Conrad had taken no oath of fealty to Lothair, he was now set up as the head of the party.[m] In 1128 he was crowned as king of Italy at Monza by Anselm, archbishop of Milan, who, on the ground of his church's independ-

[j] Vita, ii. 6. [k] Bern. Ep. 352. [l] Jaffé, 568-70. [m] Ludeu, x. 21, 27.

ence, had refused the pall from pope Honorius. In consequence of having officiated at the coronation, Anselm had been declared by Honorius to be deposed, and, having afterwards accepted the pall from Anacletus, he was excommunicated by Innocent and driven from his city,[n] while Conrad was excommunicated by both the claimants of the papacy.[o] Yet the opposition of the Hohenstaufen was still so formidable in Germany that Lothair, when he proceeded into Italy, in fulfilment of the promise which he had made at Liége, could only take with him a body of 1,500 or 2,000 horse, which excited the mockery of the Italians.[p] With this small force, however, he conducted the pope to Rome, where they arrived on the 30th of April 1133.

Attempts were made by Anacletus (who still held possession of a great part of the city) to obtain an inquiry into his pretensions; but Lothair, under the influence of the opposite party, rejected his overtures, and issued an edict in condemnation of him.[q] On the 4th of June, Lothair and Richenza were crowned in the Lateran by Innocent; for St. Peter's, the usual scene of the imperial coronations, was in the hands of the antipope. Before entering the church, the emperor swore, in the presence of the Roman nobles, to defend the pope's person and dignity, to maintain those royalties of St. Peter which Innocent already possessed, and to aid him with all his power towards the recovery of the rest.[r] A compromise was arranged as to the inheritance of the countess Matilda, which, in consequence of Henry V.'s refusal to admit her donation,[s] had become a subject of dispute

[n] Landulf. jun. 38-40 (Patr. clxxiii.); Muratori, Ann. VI. ii. 205; Luden, x. 39-44; Giesel. II. ii. 223.

[o] Innoc. Ep. 1; Anacl. Ep. 18.

[p] Otto Fris. vii. 18; Raumer, i. 225; Luden, x. 570.

[q] Patrol. clxxix. 47-8.

[r] Ib. 50; Card. Aragon., ib. 34; Otto Fris. vii. 18; Chron. Maurin. ap. Bouquet, xii. 84; Gregorov. iv. 409.

[s] See above, p 12.

between the papacy and the empire. Lothair was invested with the lands by the ceremony of the ring, and was to hold them under the Roman see on payment of a hundred pounds of silver yearly; and after him they were to be held on like terms by his son-in-law Henry, duke of Bavaria, at whose death they were to revert to the papacy.[t] In this arrangement it is evident that Lothair was more eager to secure the interest of his own family than that of the elective imperial crown. But beyond the temporary settlement of this question and his formal acknowledgment as emperor, Lothair's expedition to Italy had no results. His declaration in favour of Innocent was not supported either by the force which would have suppressed opposition, or by the wealth which would have bought over the Romans; and he found himself obliged to retire before the dangers of the climate, leaving Rome a prey to its exasperated factions.[u] Innocent was speedily again driven out, and withdrew to Pisa, where he remained until the beginning of 1137.[x]

At Pisa a great council was held in May 1136,[y] when Anacletus was excommunicated, and the sentence of deposition, without hope of restoration, was pronounced against his partisans.[z] At this assembly Bernard was the person most remarkable for the influence which he exerted, and for the reverence which was paid to him, but we are assured by his biographer that he remained unmoved by all the honours which were pressed on him.[a] From Pisa he proceeded to Milan, in order to complete the work of reclaiming the citizens from their adhesion to the antipope and Conrad. When his approach was

[t] Innoc. Ep. 145; Planck, IV. 339; Luden, x. 571.

[u] Card. Arag., Patrol. clxxix. 34; Anselm. Gemblac. A.D. 1133 (ib. clx.).

[x] Ib.; Jaffé; Innoc. Ep. 155; Anacl. Ep. 47.

[y] Chron. Pisan. in Murat. Rer. Ital. Scriptores, vi. 170. The date 1134 is often wrongly given. See Jaffé, 573.

[z] Hardouin, VI. ii. 1197-8.

[a] Vita, ii. 8.

known, almost the whole population poured forth to meet him at a distance of some miles. They thronged to touch him; they pulled out threads from his clothes, to be treasured as relics or employed for the cure of the sick. Bread and water were brought from a distance for his blessing, from which they were believed to derive a sacramental virtue; and a vast number of miracles was wrought, which were ascribed by the Milanese to his sanctity, and by himself to the willing and eager faith of the people. The turbulent city submitted implicitly to his words; the ornaments of the churches were put away, sackcloth and coarse woollen garments were generally worn, and women as well as men manifested their repentance by submitting to be shorn of their hair. Bernard was entreated to accept the archbishoprick, which he did not absolutely refuse; but he declared that he would leave the matter to be decided by the course which his palfrey should take on the morrow, and in obedience to this sign he rode away from Milan.[b] A new archbishop, Robald, was soon afterwards elected, and, at Bernard's persuasion, the Milanese consented to his accepting the pall from Innocent, and taking an oath to the pope by which, in the words of the chronicler Landulf, "he turned the liberty of the church of Milan into the contrary."[c] The jurisdiction of the see had lately been diminished by the erection of an archbishoprick of Genoa, with metropolitan authority over some dioceses which were withdrawn from the province of Milan.[d]

On Bernard's return to France, his influence was again remarkably manifested. Gerard, bishop of Angoulême,

[b] Vita, ii. 9-15; vii. 25; Epp. 131-3, 137, 314; Landulf. jun. 42 (Patrol. clxxiii.); Alan. 51.

[c] Bern. Ep. 141; Land. jun. 42-3.

[d] A.D. 1133. (G. Stella, in Murat. xvii. 973.) At the same time Pisa was made an archbishoprick, with the primacy of Sardinia annexed. Bern. Guidonis, 29; Pand. Pisan. in Patrol. clxxix. 32; Card. Arag. ib. 34.

who had taken a prominent part in forcing Pope Paschal to recall his compact with Henry V.,[e] had been employed by successive popes as legate for Aquitaine and the adjoining provinces of Spain. He had written to the council of Étampes a letter in favour of Innocent, but, having been unable to obtain from that pope a renewal of his legation, he had espoused the party of Anacletus, and had received from him a fresh commission.[f] It was in vain that he attempted to draw Henry of England and some princes of Spain and Brittany into the antipope's interest; but he was able to secure the adherence of William IX., count of Aquitaine,[g] and, relying on the count's support, he seized on the see of Bourges, and ejected several bishops and abbots, filling their places with men whose birth is said to have been their only qualification for such office.[h] Peter of Cluny had endeavoured to reclaim the count of Aquitaine, but without success; but at the request of Innocent's legate, Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, Bernard undertook the task. After having listened to his arguments, the count, who was really indifferent as to the claims of the rival popes, professed himself willing to join the party of Innocent. But as to the deprived bishops, he declared that he would not and could not restore them, because they had offended him beyond forgiveness, and he had bound himself by an oath to the contrary; nor could he be persuaded by Bernard's assurances that such oaths were not to be regarded as valid.[i] The abbot

[e] Will. Malmesb. 427-8; Ekkehard, A.D. 1112. See above, p. 10.

[f] Vulgrinus Bituric. in Patrol. clxxix. 41-6; Bern. Epp. 126-8; Anacl. Epp. 7-9; Vita Bern. ii. 32; Arnulf. Lexov. de Schismate (a violent invective against Gerard), 5 (Patrol. cci.); Chron. Maurin., ib. clxxx. 167-9. Gerard's remains are in the Patrologia, vol. clxxii., with an account of him from the 'Gallia Christiana,' in which it is supposed that he has been too hardly treated by Innocent's partisans. Col. 1311.

[g] Arnulf styles William "voluptatum vir, animalis homo, arcana spiritualium non attingens, ob repulsam petitionis illicitæ mancipatus errori." Patrol. cci. 193.

[h] Arnulf. 5-8; Bern. Ep. cxxvi. 3, 7; Vita Bern. ii. 33, 36.

[i] Ib. 34-7.

proceeded to the celebration of mass, while William, as an excommunicate person, remained without the church-door, until Bernard again came forth, with a sternness of countenance, a fire in his eyes, and an awful solemnity in his whole demeanour, which appeared more than human,[k] and bearing the consecrated host in his hands. "Often," he said, "have we entreated thee, and thou hast despised us, the servants of God. Lo, here cometh to thee the Son of the Virgin, the Lord and Head of the church which thou persecutest. Here is thy Judge, at whose name every knee shall bow of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth—thy Judge, into whose hands thy soul will fall. Wilt thou despise Him too, as thou hast despised His servants?" At these words, while all around were in trembling expectation of the event, the count fell on the earth, foaming at the mouth, and apparently senseless. He was raised up by some soldiers of his guard, but his limbs refused to support him, until Bernard, touching him with his foot, desired him to stand up, and hear God's sentence. The demand that he should restore the ejected prelates was immediately obeyed, and his reconciliation with the church was signed with the kiss of peace. Gerard of Angoulême still resisted all attempts to gain him; but it is said that he was soon after found lifeless in his bed, having died excommunicate and without the last sacraments. His body was torn from the grave by order of the legate Geoffrey of Chartres, the altars which he had consecrated were thrown down, all who had been promoted by him to ecclesiastical offices were ejected, and the schism was suppressed in France.[l]

[k] "Jam non se agens ut hominem." Vita Bern. ii. 38; cf. Acta SS., Feb. 10, pp. 440, 455.

[l] Vita Bern. ii. 39; Chron. Maurin. 267-9. See Pet. Cluniac. Ep. ii. 30. It is said, however, in the 'Gesta Episcoporum Engolismensium,' that Gerard repented, confessed, and died Christianly. N. in Bern., Patrol. clxxxii. 272.

In 1137, Bernard, in compliance with a request from Innocent and his cardinals, undertook another journey into Italy, for the purpose of labouring against the antipope. The interest of Anacletus had by this time greatly declined; his money was exhausted, his state was diminished, even the service of his table had fallen into a condition of meanness and neglect; and Bernard, on arriving at Rome, discovered that most of the antipope's adherents were inclined to a reconciliation with Innocent, although many of them were withheld by oaths, by family ties, or by other private considerations.[m] The whole strength of the party now rested on Roger II. of Sicily.

Roger, an able, stern, and ambitious prince, had undertaken, on the extinction of Robert Guiscard's line by the death of William of Apulia in 1127, to unite under his own power the whole of the Norman acquisitions in Italy,[n] and, in addition to the possessions both of the Hauteville family and of the earlier settlers in Campania, he had seized on the duchy of Naples, which until then had been connected with the Greek empire.[o] Pope Honorius, after having thrice denounced him excommunicate, and after having vainly endeavoured to resist his progress by an armed alliance, was compelled in 1228 to invest him in his new conquests with the title of duke;[p] and two years later, Roger, having assumed the title of king, received a confirmation of it from Anacletus, by whom he was crowned at Palermo.[q]

[m] Vita Bern. ii. 41.

[n] Chron. Casin. iv. 96-7; Falco Benev. in Patrol. clxxiii. 1194-5; Gibbon, v. 358. On Roger's cruelty, see Falco, 1223-6; Order. Vital. ib. 938. Arnulf of Lisieux styles him "Tyrannus ille quem altrix tyrannorum Sicilia sustinet, Dionysii successor," etc. (ib. cci. 193). Giannone, in consideration of his anti-papalism, boldly justifies him in all points, ii. 428-31.

[o] Falco, 1195; Giannone, l. x. c. 10.

[p] Falco, 1201-2; Muratori, Ann. VI ii. 199-204; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 18-19.

[q] Anaclet. Ep. 39; Falco, 1204. On the question whether Roger was

The pope had joined with the dispossessed princes of the south in entreating the emperor's intervention; and Lothair, after having established peace in Germany by a reconciliation with Frederick and Conrad of Hohenstaufen (in which Bernard's mediation was added to that of the empress Richenza),[r] again crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful force. In a single campaign, with the aid of the fleets of Genoa and Pisa, he deprived Roger of all his late acquisitions on the mainland.[s] But dissensions arose between the allies. In a question as to the reconciliation of the abbey of Monte Cassino, which had been drawn by the Sicilian power into the antipope's interest, the emperor bitterly reproached the pope's representatives for their master's ingratitude to him, and even threatened to forsake his party;[t] and when a new prince, Rainulf, was to be invested at Salerno, after a month's discussion whether the suzerainty belonged to the pope or to the emperor, the difficulty was for the time overcome by an arrangement that both should at the ceremony hold the banner by means of which the investiture was performed.[u] Having restored Innocent to Rome, and apparently pacified Italy, Lothair set out homewards; but at Trent he fell sick, and on the 3rd of December he died at Breitenwang, an obscure place between the rivers Inn and Lech.[x] A diet was summoned to meet at Whitsuntide 1138 for the election of a successor, and it was expected that the choice of

A.D. 1135. A.D. 1137.

crowned once or twice, see note on Falco; also Giannone, ii. 326; Pagi and Mansi, in Baron. xviii. 452-3; note in Fazello, ii. 378; Raumer, i. 377.

[r] Otto Frising. vii. 19; Annal. Magdeb. A.D. 1134, ap. Pertz, xvi.; Chron. Ursperg. 211.

[s] Falco, 1234-6; Otto Frising. vii. 19; Card. de Aragonia, in Patrol. clxxix. 35; Chron. Pisan. in Murat. vi. 170.

[t] Chron. Casin. iv. 112, 115, 124. See above, p. 63.

[u] Chron. Casin. iv. 117; Otto Frising. vii. 22; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 189.

[x] Otto Fris. vii. 4; Luden, x. 576; Raumer, i. 232. Lothair is highly eulogised by the Cologne annalist. Eccard, i. 930.

the Germans would fall on Henry, duke of Bavaria, the son-in-law and representative of the late emperor. But Henry, by conduct which had gained for him the epithet of "The Proud," had offended many of the electors, and the influence of the pope, who dreaded a too powerful emperor, was exerted in opposition to the family which had restored him to the possession of his capital. Without waiting, therefore, for the appointed diet, a small party of the electors, headed by the archbishops of Treves and Cologne (Mentz being vacant in consequence of the death of Adalbert), chose Conrad of Hohenstaufen—once an excommunicated pretender to the Italian kingdom—as king of Germany, and he was crowned by the papal legate, cardinal Theotwin, at Aix-la-Chapelle.[y] For some years which followed, Germany was again a prey to the contests of parties struggling for supremacy, and it is said that in the course of these contests—at the battle of Weinsberg, in 1140—the names of Welf and Waiblingen (Guelf and Ghibelline), "those hellish names," as a Genoese chronicler calls them,[z] which afterwards became so notorious in the feuds of Italy, were first heard as the rallying cries of the opposite parties.[a]

While Lothair was yet on his way towards the Alps,

[y] Murat. xxii. 1003.

[z] Otto Fris. de Gestis Frederici, i. 22; Gesta Alberonis Trevir. 15 (Patrol. cliv.); Luden, x. 133-9; Raumer, i. 233-6.

[a] Chron. Weingart. in Leibnitz, i. 789. See Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Frid. III., in Kollar, ii. 54, and Bœcler's note, ib. 499; Muratori, Dissert. 51 (Antiq. Ital. t. iv.); Schmidt, iii. 226; Luden, x. 587; Raumer, i. 241; Herzog, xvii. 667. It seems to be doubtful from which of two places named Waiblingen the cry of the Hohenstaufen party was taken (Raumer, l. c). The names were at a later time supposed by the Italians to have been derived from two brothers who took opposite sides (Ptolom. Lucensis, in Murat. xi. 1133), and this is repeated by the Greek Nicephorus Gregoras, VIII. i. 47. A still more absurd account is given by John Malvecius, in Murat. xiv. 919. See too Manetti, ib. xix. 1016. Muratori remarks that it is no wonder if writers even of the 14th century were at a loss for the origin of them, "quum unde Hugonottæ sectæ nomen prodierit, vix ipsi Galli noverint, et unde nomina *Wighs* et *Torris*, Angli vix intelligant." iv. 900.

Roger again appeared in Italy, and speedily recovered a large portion of his conquests. In answer to overtures from Innocent, which were made through Bernard, he proposed a conference between representatives of the rival popes,—in the hope, it is said, that Peter of Pisa,[b] one of the ablest partisans of Anacletus, would by his learning and rhetorical skill prove superior to the abbot of Clairvaux. After Peter had stated the claims of Anacletus, Bernard began his reply by insisting on the unity of the church, and then proceeded to apply the doctrine by asking whether it could be thought that Roger alone was in the one ark of salvation, while all other Christian nations, and all the holy orders of monks, were to perish? Then, seeing the impression which his words had made on his hearers, "Let us," he said to Peter, taking him by the hand, "enter into a safer ark." The antipapal champion, whether really convinced, or gained by a promise that his dignities should be secured to him, yielded to the appeal, and returned with Bernard to Rome, where he professed his submission to Innocent; but Roger still held out with a view of making conditions as to some property of the Roman see which he had seized.[c]

The death of Lothair was followed within a few weeks by that of Anacletus, who, notwithstanding the decay of his power, had to the last kept possession of the Vatican.[d] His body was secretly buried, lest it should be treated like that of Pope For- Jan. 25, 1138.

[b] Chron. Maurin. ap. Bouquet, xii. 79; Giannone, ii. 350. Peter was the author of the Life of Paschal II., which is commonly quoted as the work of his countryman Pandulf. Gregorov. iv. 604; Potthast, Bibl. Hist. 422.

[c] Vita Bern. ii. 43-6; cf. Falc. Benev. 1243-4. Bernard afterwards wrote to Innocent in behalf of Peter, complaining that the promises made to him had not been fully kept. Ep. 213.

[d] "Ille, ille iniquus, qui peccare fecit Israel," writes Bernard to Peter of Cluny, "morte absorptus est, et traductus in ventrem inferi." (Ep. 147.) Cf. Baron. 1038. 1; Gregorov. iv. 417.

mosus;[e] and, although a successor was set up, under the name of Victor the Fourth, this was rather with a view to making favourable terms of reconciliation than with any serious hope of prolonging the schism. Innocent spent large sums in buying over the adherents of Anacletus,—among them the members of the late antipope's own family,[f] who humbled themselves at his feet, and took the oath of fealty to him; and such was Bernard's influence that the new antipope went to his lodging by night, renounced his claims, stripped off his insignia, and was led by the abbot in triumph to prostrate himself at the feet of Innocent. The joy of the Romans at the restoration of peace was unbounded; but Bernard, to whom they ascribed the merit of it, escaped with all speed from their demonstrations of gratitude, and returned to resume in the quiet seclusion of Clairvaux his mystical exposition of the Canticles.[g]

May 29, 1138.

In April 1139, Innocent, now undisputed master of Rome, assembled at the Lateran a general council, which was attended by a thousand archbishops and bishops. The pope in his opening speech asserted the feudal authority of St. Peter's successor over all other members of the hierarchy, as the superior under whom all ecclesiastical power is held.[h] The ordinations and other acts of Anacletus and his partisans, such as Gerard of Angoulême, were annulled, and some bishops who had received schismatic consecration were severely rebuked by the pope, who forcibly snatched their pastoral staves from their hands, plucked off their robes, and took from them their episcopal rings.[i] Roger of Sicily, although he had given in his adhesion to Innocent, was denounced

[e] See vol. iii. p. 15; Card. de Arag. clxxix. 36; Order. Vital. xiii. 17 Vita Bern. ii. 47.

[f] Bern. Ep. 317; Chron. Casin. iv. 130; Gregorov. iv. 417.

[g] Serm. 24, in Cantic.; Vita, ii. 47.

[h] Chron. Maurin. Patrol. clxxx. 268.

[i] Ib. 269; Conc. Lat. II. c. 30.

excommunicate, with all his followers ;[k] canons relating to discipline were passed ; and the Truce of God, in its fullest extent, was re-enacted.[l] Yet the remainder of the pope's own life was almost entirely spent in war—partly against his immediate neighbours, and partly against the Sicilian king. Roger was carrying on the war in the south with great barbarity—slaughtering defenceless people, plundering, destroying trees and crops, tearing from the grave and treating with the basest indignities the body of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who had accompanied Lothair on his last expedition, and that of duke Rainulf, of Salerno, who had died at Troja about the time of the Lateran council.[m] In June 1139 Innocent set out against the invader, at the head of an armed force, accompanied by Robert, prince of Capua, who had been again dispossessed of his territories. But, like Leo IX., the pope fell into the hands of the Normans, and, as in Leo's case, the victors contented themselves with exacting the papal sanction for their conquests, with the confirmation of Roger's kingly title.[n] Aug. 22-5, 1139.

The contest for the papacy had long diverted Bernard's attention from the studies in which he most delighted. We shall next find him engaged in a conflict of a different kind ; but before proceeding to this, it is necessary to trace in some degree the intellectual movements of the age, and the history of the celebrated man to whom Bernard was now to be opposed.

During the latter part of the eleventh century, a fresh impulse had been given to intellectual activity by the

[k] Falco, 1249.

[l] Can. 11. See vol. iv. p. 202.

[m] Falco, 1254 ; Chron. Casin. iv. 126.

[n] Innoc. Ep. 416 (Patrol. clxxix.) ; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 190 : Falco, 1251-3 ; Godef. Viterb. in Patrol. cxcviii. 988 ; Giannone, ii. 354-7 ; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. ii. 198-9. See vol. iv. p. 233.

labours of Lanfranc, Berengar, Anselm, and other eminent teachers. The old cathedral schools were developing into seminaries of general learning, frequented by numbers beyond the example of former times, and exercising an important influence. And the monastic discipline, which for some was merely a mechanical rule, while for spirits of a mystical tendency it offered the attractions of contemplation and devotion, stimulated minds of a different character to exercise themselves in speculations which often passed the boundaries of orthodoxy.[o]

The question as to the existence of universals—such as *genus*, *species*, *differentia*, *proprium*, *accidens*,—which had divided the schools of ancient philosophy, had been generally ruled in the church by the authority of St. Augustine, who held with Plato the real existence of universals; yet there had been some who, with Aristotle, asserted that they were mere names or ideas.[p] This nominalism (as it was styled) was now taken up by Roscellin, a canon of Compiègne, and perhaps a Breton by birth,[q] who is said to have taught that universals were nothing more than words,[r] and to have denied the existence of anything but individuals—of collective wholes, because they are made up of individuals; of parts, because they are not entire individuals.[s] It was, however, by the

[o] Milman, iii. 240-2.

[p] Schröckh, xxiv. 355-6; Ritter, vii. 110. See Gunzo (about A.D. 960) in Patrol. cxxxvi. 1294.

[q] See Hauréau, i. 187. Aventinus, in the 15th century, is said to be the first writer who calls him a Breton. (Annal. Boiorum, l. vi. p. 496, ed. Basil. 1580) Herzog, xiii. 117.

[r] "Flatus vocis," Anselm. de Fide Trin. 2 (Patrol. clviii. 265).

[s] Ib.; Abelard, Ep. 14; Ritter, vii. 313; Rémusat, 'Abélard,' ii. 15. Abelard calls this "magistri nostri R[oscellini] tam insana sententia" (Dialectica, in 'Œuvres Inédits,' ed. Cousin, p. 471). Thus, says M. de Rémusat, according to Roscellin, real individuals composed imaginary wholes, and imaginary parts composed real individuals. But M. Hauréau thinks that he has been misrepresented (i. 185, seqq.). See also the elaborate article *Roscellin*, in Herzog's Encyclopædia. His works (if he wrote any, which M. Hauréau doubts, i. 177) are lost, with the exception of one letter which will be mentioned hereafter.

application of his system to the doctrine of the Trinity that Roscellin became most famous. If, he said, we would avoid the error of supposing the Father and the Holy Ghost to have been incarnate with the Son, we must believe the divine Persons to be three real beings, as distinct from each other as three angels or three souls, although the same in power and in will.[t] This proposition, although advanced not in opposition to the doctrine of the church, but with a view to explain and support it,[u] naturally gave rise to a charge of tritheism, for which Roscellin was cited to answer before a council at Soissons, in 1092. Anselm, then abbot of Le Bec, on being informed by a monk named John[x] that Roscellin claimed for his opinion the authority of Lanfranc and his own, strongly denied the imputation, declaring that Roscellin either was a tritheist, or did not understand his own words;[y] and he requested Fulk, bishop of Beauvais, who was about to attend the council, to clear both himself and Lanfranc from the charge.[z] He also began a treatise on the subject, but broke it off on hearing that Roscellin had retracted at Soissons; although he afterwards completed it on being told that Roscellin, like Berengar, had only yielded for a time out of fear, and had since resumed the profession of his old opinions.[a] Finding himself unsafe in France, Roscellin withdrew into England; but his opposition to Anselm, who was now archbishop of Canterbury, and his maintenance of the strict Hildebrandine view as to the unfitness of the

[t] "Tres res." Joannes, ap. Baluz. Miscellanea, iv. 478, ed. 8vo. *Angulos* (which Schröckh, xxviii. 395, translates by *Winkel)* seems to be a mistake for *Angelos.* See Anselm. de Fide Trin., coll. 262, 268, 270 (who justly says that perhaps the illustration may not be Roscellin's own, but may have been added by the reporter); Roscellin. in Patrol. clxxviii. 365.

[u] Ritter, ii. 315.

[x] The same who was afterwards abbot of Telese (see above, ch. v.), and eventually a cardinal. Herzog, xiii. 117.

[y] Ep. ii. 35; De Fide Trin. c. 3, col. 266.

[z] Ep. ii. 41

[a] Anselm. de Fide Trin. c. 1.

sons of clergy for ordination, combined to render him unpopular, so that in 1097 he was compelled to leave the country.[b] He was, however, kindly received by Ivo of Chartres, who appears to have reconciled him with the church, and, probably through his interest, he became a canon of St. Martin's at Tours;[c] but his unfortunate application of nominalism to theology had excited such a prejudice against the theory altogether, that John of Salisbury speaks of it as having almost disappeared with Roscellin.[d]

Among Roscellin's pupils was Peter Abelard,[e] born in 1079 at Palais or Le Pallet, near Nantes.[f] In the "History of his Misfortunes" (an autobiographical epistle which abundantly displays his vanity and indiscretion), he tells us that, although the eldest son of Berengar, who was lord of the place, he very early preferred "the conflicts of disputation to the trophies

[b] Theobald. Stampens. in Patrol. clxiii. 767; Abelard, Ep. 14 (who says that he was banished by the English king for insolence ["contumelias"] to Anselm). See Herzog, xiii. 118.

[c] Ivo, Ep. 7 (Patrol. clxii.); Roscell. ib. clxxviii. 359; Herzog, 118.

[d] Metalog. ii. 17 (ib. cxcix.); Polycr. vii. 12, col. 665.

[e] The statement that Abelard studied under Roscellin was formerly supposed to rest on the authority of Otho of Freising alone (De Gestis Friderici, i. 47), and therefore was denied by some (as by Schröckh, xxiv. 368). But it is now established by the publication of Abelard's 'Dialectica,' where he speaks of Roscellin as his master (see above, p. 98, n. s.), and of Roscellin's letter, in which he reproaches Abelard as ungrateful for kindnesses, "quæ tibi tot et tanta a puero usque ad juvenem sub magistri nomine et actu exhibui." (Patrol. clxxviii. 357.) This letter, discovered by Schmeller in the Royal Library at Munich, and reprinted with Abelard's works (Ep. 15), throws light on a letter against Roscellin, addressed to the bishop and clergy of Paris by "P." (ib. Ep. 14), who is thus proved to be Peter Abelard (comp. Rémusat, i. 81; Herzog, 118). For the history of Abelard I have used the edition of his works in Migne's 'Patrologia,' (vol. clxxviii.), with occasional references to that by MM. Cousin and Jourdain (2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1849-59) and to Cousin's 'Œuvres Inéd. d'Abélard (1836)'; Lettres d'Abailard et d'Héloïse, précédées d'un Essai par M. et Mme Guizot (ib. 1839); Ch. de Rémusat, 'Abélard' ib. 1845); Tosti, 'Storia di Abélardo e dei suoi Tempi,' Napoli, 1851. As to the origin of the name Abelard, see Rémusat, i. 13-14.

[f] Abæl. Historia Calamitatum, 1; Tosti, 36. From his birthplace, John of Salisbury styles him "peripateticus Palatinus" (Metalog. ii. 10, 17). For an account of Le Pallet, see Rémusat, i. 1-2.

of arms," and, resigning the family inheritance to his brothers, he betook himself to the life of a scholar.[g] He had already travelled over many provinces of France, displaying his dialectical skill in disputes with all who chose to encounter him, when, at the age of twenty-one, he became a pupil of William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Paris and master of the cathedral school, who was in enjoyment of the highest reputation as a teacher. William was at first charmed with the pupil's abilities; but when Abelard began to question his doctrines, to argue with him, and sometimes to triumph over him, both the master and the other scholars were not unnaturally disgusted.[h] Notwithstanding the endeavours of William to prevent him, A.D. 1102. Abelard opened a school of his own at Melun, then a royal residence, and, after a time, removed to Corbeil, with a view of being nearer to the capital. The fame and the popularity of William began to wane before the new teacher, whose eloquence, boldness, clearness of expression, and wit drew crowds of admiring hearers.[i] An illness brought on by study compelled Abelard to withdraw to his native province; and, on returning to Paris, after an absence of some years, he found that William of Champeaux had resigned his archdeaconry and school, and had become a canon regular at the abbey of St. Victor, without the city walls, where, however, he had resumed his occupation as a teacher.[k] Notwithstanding their former rivalry, Abelard became a pupil of William in rhetoric; but the old scenes were

[g] Hist. Calam. 1.

[h] Ib. 1-2.

[i] Ib. 2; Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. 47; Rémus. i. 15; Ritter, vii. 406.

[k] Hist. Calam. 2; Hildebert. Ep. 8 (Patrol. clxxi.); Bouquet, xiii. 729; Crevier, i. 117; Rémusat, i. 17. For the foundation of St. Victor's, see an Essay by Hugonin in Patrol. clxxv. M de Rémusat's conjecture that Abelard's connection with Roscellin was during this absence from Paris (i. 16), seems inconsistent with the quotation given above from Roscellin's letter (which was unknown when M. de Rémusat wrote).

renewed; for Abelard not only controverted an opinion of his master on the subject of universals, but obliged him to renounce it, or, at least, the form in which it was expressed.[1] By this defeat William's credit was greatly impaired; many of his pupils deserted to Abelard, who now gained a more regular position, being invited by William's successor to teach in the cathedral school; but through the envy of William (as the case is represented to us), this master was ejected, and Abelard was again driven to teach independently at Melun. After a time, William retired to the country, and Abelard thereupon returned to Paris, where (in his own language) he "pitched his camp on the Mount of St. Geneviève, without the city, as if to besiege the teacher who had taken possession of his place." On hearing of this, William again began to lecture at Paris; the cathedral school was deserted; and the students were divided between William and Abelard, while both the masters and the pupils of the rival schools engaged in frequent conflicts. Abelard, however, was again obliged to go into Brittany, in order to take leave of his mother, who was about to enter a cloister, as her husband had done before; and on his return to Paris, as the old rivalry had been ended by the promotion of William to the bishoprick of Châlons on the Marne, he resolved to turn from the study of philosophy to that of theology.[m]

A.D. 1112-13.

[1] "Erat autem in ea sententia de communitate universalium, ut eandem essentialiter rem totam singulis suis inesse astrueret individuis; quorum quidem nulla esset in essentia diversitas, sed sola multitudine accidentium varietas. Sic autem istam suam correxit sententiam, ut deinceps rem eandem non essentialiter, sed indifferenter diceret." (Hist. Calam. 2, col. 119.) See Bayle, art *Abélard;* Hist. Litt. vii. 88; Ritter, vii. 356-8 (who thinks little of the change); Rémusat, i. 19; Hauréau, i. 222, 224, seqq., who vindicates Abelard against the censures of M. Cousin.

[m] Hist. Calam. 2. There is a somewhat apocryphal story that a young logician named Goswin, afterwards abbot of Anchin, in Flanders, challenged Abelard when surrounded by his scholars on Mont. Ste. Geneviève, and beat him in disputation. Bouquet, xiv. 443. See Acta SS., Oct. 9; Rémusat, i. 24-6.

For this purpose he repaired to the school of Laon, which had long flourished under Anselm, a pupil of Anselm of Canterbury. It was said of Anselm of Laon that he had argued a greater number of men into the catholic faith than any heresiarch of his time had been able to seduce from it;[n] pupils flocked to him, not only from all parts of France but from foreign countries; and among them were many who, like Abelard, had themselves been teachers of philosophy before placing themselves at the feet of the theologian of Laon.[o] But to Abelard the plain, solid, and traditional method of Anselm appeared tame and empty. It seemed to him that the old man's fame was founded rather on his long practice than on ability or knowledge; that he had more of smoke than of light; that if any one came to him in uncertainty as to any question, the uncertainty was only increased by Anselm's answer; that he was like the barren fig-tree which the Saviour cursed. "Having made this discovery," he adds, "I did not idle away many days in lying under his shadow"; and the rareness of his attendance at Anselm's lectures began to be noted as disrespectful towards the teacher. In consequence of having expressed contempt for the traditional glosses on Scripture, he was challenged by some of his fellow-students to attempt a better style of exposition; whereupon he undertook the book of Ezekiel, as being especially obscure, and, declining the offer of time for preparation, began his course of lectures next day. The first lecture found but few hearers; but the report which these spread as to its brilliancy drew a greater audience to the second, and the few soon became an eager multitude.[p] Anselm, on receiving reports as to the lectures

[n] Guib. Novig. Procem. in Genes. (Patrol. clvi. 20). He was the author of the "Glossa Interlinearis" on the whole of the Scriptures. Patrol. clxii. 180.

[o] Hist. Litt. in Patrol. clxii. 1176.

[p] Hist. Calam. 3.

from two of his chief pupils, Alberic[q] and Letulf, was alarmed lest he should be held accountable for any errors which might be vented in them, and made use of a privilege which belonged to his office by forbidding Abelard to teach at Laon; whereupon Abelard once more returned to Paris. He now got uncontrolled possession of the principal school, from which he had formerly been ejected, and his theological lectures became no less popular than those which he had before delivered in philosophy.[r] Even Rome, it is said, sent him pupils.[s] Wealth as well as fame flowed in on him; his personal graces, his brilliant conversation, his poetical and musical talents, enhanced the admiration which was excited by his public teaching; but now, when all went prosperously with him, the passions which he represents himself as having before kept under strict control,[t] began to awake. He tells us that he might have won the favour of any lady whom he might have chosen;[u] but he coolly resolved on the seduction of Heloisa, a beautiful maiden of eighteen, whose extraordinary learning and accomplishments were already famous.[x] With a view to

[q] For Alberic, see Joh. Sarisb. Metalog. ii. 10; Enthetic. 55. There is, however, some doubt as to the identity. He eventually became archbishop of Bourges. Hist. Litt. xii. 74.

[r] Hist. Cal. 4, 5.

[s] Fulco ap. Abel. Ep. 16, col. 371.

[t] Hist. Cal. 5. An opposite account of his earlier life is, however, given, not only by Roscellin (ap. Abel. Ep. 15), but by Fulk of Deuil (ib., Ep. 16, coll. 372-3). See Bayle, art. *Foulques*, note D; Rémusat, i. 46; Guizot, Introd. xlvi.; Morison's Life of St. Bernard, ed. i. p. 296.

[u] Hist. Cal. 6, col. 127; Helois. ap. Abel. col. 186. His ecclesiastical position at this time is not clear. He was a clerk and canon (col. 132, B); but whether his canonry was at Paris, Sens, or Tours, is uncertain. The office did not involve the necessity of his being in any of the higher orders of the ministry; but it appears from his 'Epitome' (c. 31), that he would not have considered priesthood as a bar to marriage. See Hist. Litt. xii. 91; Rémusat, i. 39, 40, 64; Cousin in Abél. i. 46.

[x] Hist. Cal. 6; Pet. Cluniac. Ep. 21 (Patrol. clxxxix.). She is said to have been "apprime erudita," not only in Latin, but in Greek and Hebrew (Rob. Antissiod. in Bouquet, xii. 294). Abelard, however, says more moderately —"Non solum Latinæ, verum etiam tam Hebraicæ quam Græcæ *non expers* litteraturæ, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adepta peritiam" (Ep. 9, col. 333). It is probable that her

this, he insinuated himself into the confidence of her uncle, with whom she lived,—a canon named Fulbert; and, by lamenting to Fulbert the troubles of housekeeping, he drew him into an arrangement agreeable both to the canon's love of money and to his affection for his niece—that Abelard should board in Fulbert's house, and should devote his spare hours to the culture of Heloisa's mind, for which purpose he was authorized to use even bodily chastisement. "I was no less astonished at his simplicity," says Abelard, "than if he were to entrust a tender lamb to a famished wolf;"[y] and the result was such as might have been expected.

In the meantime, Abelard's scholars could not but remark a change in their master. The freshness and life of his teaching were gone; he contented himself with listlessly repeating old lectures; and his mental activity was shown only in the production of amatory verses, which, as he complacently tells us, were long afterwards popular.[z] At length the rumours which had been generally current reached Fulbert himself. The lovers were separated; but on Heloisa's announcing to Abelard, "with the greatest exultation," that she was pregnant, he contrived to steal her from her uncle's house, and sent her to his sister in Brittany, where she gave birth to a son, Astrolabius.[a] Fulbert furiously insisted on a mar-

acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew was limited to the letters, and such words as were commonly cited in Latin writings; nor did Abelard himself know more. See below, c. xiii. sect. iv.; Bayle, art. *Héloise*, note B; Rémusat, i. 30, 48; Ritter, vii. 407; Tosti, 73.

[y] Hist. Cal. 6; Ep. 5, col. 206.

[z] Hist. Cal. 6; cf. Helois. ap. Abæl. Ep. 2, col. 186.

[a] Hist. Calam. 6. This remarkable name occurs among the abbots of Hauterive, a Cistercian monastery in Switzerland, at a date which would suit the Astrolabius of the story, (Cousin, i. 46). But there was also a canon of Nantes named Astrolabius, in 1150, and this was probably the son of Heloisa, who had asked Peter of Cluny to assist her in the endeavour to obtain a canonry for him. (Pet. Clun. Epp. vi. 21-2; Rémusat, i. 269.) A poem ascribed to Abelard,—"Monita ad Astrolabium,"—is reprinted in the Patrologia, clxxviii. 1699, seqq., from Messrs. Wright and Halliwell's "Reliquiæ Antiquæ."

riage, to which Abelard consented, on the condition that, for the sake of his reputation and of his prospects, it should be kept secret. But against this Heloisa remonstrated vehemently and in an unexpected strain. She assured Abelard that her uncle would never be really appeased. She entreated her lover not to sacrifice his fame, in which she considered herself to have an interest. She strongly put before him the troubles of married life —the inconveniences which children must cause in the modest dwelling of a philosopher—fortifying her argument with a host of quotations from writers both sacred and profane. For herself, she said, she would rather be his friend, having no hold on him except by favour, than connected with him by the bonds of wedlock. She was, however, brought back to Paris, and the marriage was secretly performed. But no sooner was the ceremony over than Fulbert broke his promise of silence, while Heloisa with oaths and even with curses denied the marriage; and Abelard, in order to withdraw his wife from her uncle's cruelty, placed her in the convent of Argenteuil, where she had been brought up. Here he continued to carry on his intercourse with her;[b] but as she wore the monastic dress, Fulbert began to fear that Abelard might rid himself of her by persuading her to take the vows, and resolved on a barbarous revenge. Abelard's servant was bribed to admit into his lodging some ruffians whom the canon had hired; and entering his chamber at night, they inflicted on him a cruel and disgraceful mutilation.[c]

A.D. 1119.

[b] Ep. 5, col. 205.

[c] Hist. Cal. 7. Dean Milman says (iii. 365) that this was meant to disqualify him for ecclesiastical honours. But surely the first Nicene canon, which makes exceptions in favour of those whose mutilation has not been voluntary, would have protected Abelard; and see what he himself says as to the difference between his own case and Origen's, Ep. 5, col. 208. Heloisa afterwards calls him "monk and priest" (Ep. 4, init.); and it would seem that his ordination to the priesthood was after this time—probably when he became abbot of Ruys.

The report of this atrocity excited a general feeling of indignation. Two of the agents in it, who were caught, were subjected to a like penalty, with the addition of the loss of their eyes; and Fulbert was deprived of his preferments, although sheltered by his clerical character from further punishment.[d] Abelard, overwhelmed with shame and grief, retired to St. Denys, where—more, as he confesses, from such feelings than from devotion—he took the monastic vows; Heloisa having at his command already put on the veil at Argenteuil.[e]

But although Abelard profited by the opportunities of study which his monastic retirement afforded,[f] it was not to give him peace. He soon made himself unpopular by censuring the laxity of the abbot and his brethren,[g] and by their contrivance he was removed to a dependent cell, where he resumed his occupation of teaching both in philosophy and in theology[h] with such success that, as he tells us, "neither the place sufficed for their lodging, nor the land for their support." The audiences of other professors were thinned; their envy was aroused, and they beset bishops, abbots, and other important persons with complaints against their successful rival—that the cultivation of secular learning was inconsistent with his duty as a monk, and that, by teaching theology without the sanction of some accredited master,[h] he was likely

[d] See Abæl. Ep. 16, col. 375—a letter written by Fulk, prior of Deuil, to Abelard, for the purpose of consoling him, and of dissuading him from going to Rome in order to solicit further vengeance against Fulbert. M. Migne, whose ultramontane feelings become more delicate as his 'Patrologia' draws towards an end, omits some remarkable words—"O miserum valde consilium, et omni destitutum utilitate! Numquid non audisti aliquando de Romanorum avaritia et impuritate? Quis unquam suis potuit opibus meretricum voraginem satiare? Quis potuit sacculis cupiditatis earum sufficere crumenis?" p. 222, ed. 1616.

[e] Hist. Cal. 8; Helois. ap. Abæl. Ep. 2, col. 186; Ep. 4, col. 195; Hist. Litt. xii. 632; Rémusat, i. 70, 144.

[f] His pupil Otho of Freising says that at St. Denys he became "de acuto acutior, de literato literatior."—De Gestis Frid. i. 47.

[g] Hist. Calam. 8. Duchesne (not. in loc.) questions the truth of such charges; but see Cousin, i. 47; Rémus. i. 72.

[h] "Quod sine magistro ad magisterium divinæ lectionis accedere præ

to lead his pupils into error. And in no long time an opportunity for attacking him was given by an "Introduction to Theology," drawn up at the desire of his pupils, who had requested him to illustrate the mystery of the Trinity in words which might be not only pronounced, but understood.[i] Roscellin, who had made his own peace with the church, denounced Abelard as a Sabellian, and in the grossest terms reflected on him for the errors and misfortunes of his life, while Abelard in his turn reproached his former master as alike infamous for his opinions and for his character.[k] At the instance of his old opponents, Alberic and Letulf, who were now established as teachers at Reims,[l] he was cited by the archbishop of that city before a council at Soissons. At this assembly he delivered his book[m] to the legate Conon of Palestrina, who presided, and professed himself willing to retract anything in it which might be regarded as contrary to the catholic faith. The book was handed to his accusers for examination, and in the meantime Abelard daily expounded his opinions in public, with such effect that, although he

A.D. 1121.

sumpsissem." (Hist. Cal. 8.) In the University of Paris somewhat later, a bachelor, after having been licensed to teach, gave his lectures for a time under the superintendence of a doctor; and from this passage it appears that a similar rule was already in force. Abelard had had no master in Theology except Anselm of Laon, with whom, after a very short connexion, he had quarrelled; and he now taught without any superintendence. See Crevier, i. 135-6; Hist. Litt. xii. 89; Rémusat, i. 21, 74; Tosti, 55.

[i] Hist. Cal. 9; Prolog. in Introd. ad Theologiam; Rémus. i. 75.

[k] Abæl. Ep. 14; Rosc. ap. Abæl. Ep. 15. As to these letters, see above, p. 100, note [e]; Cousin, ii. 150; Rémusat, i. 14, 81-3; Neander's 'Bernard, 118; Tosti, 104; Herzog, xiii. 119. M. de Rémusat refers to this time Ep. 13, addressed "To one ignorant of Dialectics" (i. 78); but see below, p. 121, note [k]. Abelard differed from Roscellin in being a conceptualist—*i.e.*, holding the real existence of universals as matters of conception—a middle view, but rather inclining to nominalism. (Rémus. ii. 15, 34; Tosti, 62; Hauréau, i. 270.) M. Hauréau seems to think that this was really Roscellin's own opinion.

[l] Abelard had provoked Alberic by speaking of him, although without naming him, as a master who taught that God had generated Himself. Introd. ad Theol. ii. 6; Tosti, 107-8.

[m] See Hefele, v. 321.

and his disciples, on their arrival, had been in danger of being stoned as tritheists, a great reaction took place in his favour.

On the last day of the council, to which the further consideration of the case had been deferred, Geoffrey of Chartres, the most eminent of the bishops present, after having reminded the assembly of Abelard's fame, and of the necessity of dealing cautiously, proposed that the charge against him should be clearly stated, and that he should be allowed to reply. On this an outcry was raised that no one could withstand such a sophist; that his book deserved condemnation, if it were only because he had allowed it to be copied without the sanction of Rome. He was condemned, not for tritheism, but for the opposite error of Sabellianism; he was required to read aloud the Athanasian creed, which he did with a profusion of tears, and to throw his book into the fire. The bishop of Chartres in vain endeavoured to obtain that he might be sent back to St. Denys; the accusers insisted that he should be detained within the jurisdiction of Reims, and he was committed to the custody of Goswin, abbot of St. Medard's, at Soissons. But the severity of this judgment excited such general reprobation, that those who had shared in it endeavoured to excuse themselves by throwing the blame on each other, and after a time Abelard was allowed to return to St. Denys.[n]

It was not long, however, before he again brought himself into trouble by denying, on the authority of a passage in Bede's works,[o] the identity of Dionysius the Areopagite with the patron saint of the monastery. Such

[n] Hist. Calam. 9-10; Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. i. 47; Bouquet, xiv. 445; Rémusat, i. 92, seqq. For the doubtful story of an earlier collision with Goswin, see p. 102, note [m].

[o] Comment. in Acta Apost., Patrol. xcii. 981. Bede, however, confounded the Areopagite with Dionysius, bishop of Corinth.

an opinion, after the labours of abbot Hilduin, who was supposed to have settled the matter by long inquiries in Greece,[p] was regarded as not only profane but treasonable; for St. Denys was the patron of the whole kingdom, and Abelard was even denounced to the king. It was in vain that he addressed to the abbot a letter intended to reconcile the different accounts:[q] he was placed under guard, and, "almost in desperation, as if the whole world had conspired against him," he escaped from the abbey by night, and found refuge with a friend, who was prior of a cell near Provins. Abbot Adam of St. Denys refused to release him from his monastic obedience; but as the old man died soon after, a release was obtained from his successor, Suger, on condition that Abelard should not attach himself to any other monastery; for St. Denys was proud of so famous a member, and wished to retain the credit of reckoning him as its own.[s]

Jan. 19, 1122.[r]

He now fixed himself, in company with a single clerk, in the neighbourhood of Nogent on the Seine, where, on a site granted to him by Theobald, count of Champagne, he built himself an oratory of reeds and straw. But even in this retreat he soon found himself surrounded by disciples, who, for the sake of his instructions, were willing to endure all manner of hardships. By their labour the little oratory was enlarged into a monastery, with its church, to which he gave the name of the Divine Comforter or Paraclete—a novelty which, in addition to his popularity as a teacher, excited his enemies afresh, as it had not been usual to dedicate churches to any

[p] Hist. Cal. 10, col. 154. See vol. i. p. 217; vol. iii. p. 358. There is a curious letter of Innocent III. to the monks of St. Denys, A.D. 1215. He declines to decide whether the bishop of Paris was the same with the Areopagite, but sends them a relic of the Areopagite lately brought from Greece, that, having "utrasque reliquias," they may be sure of having something of the scriptural Dionysius. Patrol. cxvii. 241.

[q] Ep. 12.

[r] Hist. Litt. xii. 365.

[s] Hist. Cal. 10.

other Person of the Trinity than the Second.[t] Among those enemies he mentions two "new apostles, in whom the world very greatly trusted"—Bernard and Norbert. These, he says, talked and preached against him everywhere, and such was the obloquy raised that, whenever he heard of a synod, he apprehended that it might be summoned for his own condemnation. He declared that he often thought even of withdrawing into some country of unbelievers, in the hope of finding that toleration which was denied him by his fellow Christians.[u]

At this time he was chosen abbot of the ancient monastery of St. Gildas, at Ruys, on the coast of Morbihan,[x] and, with the consent of Suger of St. Denys, he accepted the office as promising him a quiet refuge. But his hopes were bitterly disappointed. The country was wild and desolate, and, with the ocean filling the whole view beyond it, appeared to be the extremity of the world. The very language of the people was unintelligible; the monks were utterly disobedient and unruly, and met his attempts at reform by mixing poison for him, even in the eucharistic cup, and by setting ruffians in ambush to murder him. There were quarrels, too, with a rude and powerful neighbour, who had invaded the property of the monastery; and such

A.D. 1125-6.

[t] Hist. Cal. 11; Rémusat, i. 113. M. de Rémusat remarks (131) that within a few years Innocent II. is found using the name without scruple. Ep. 504, (Patrol. clxxix.).

[u] Hist. Cal. 12. It was about this time that Walter of Mortagne (de Mauretania) addressed to him a letter of remonstrance (Dachery, iii. 524-6), grounded partly on passages in the 'Introductio,' and partly on the rumours spread by Abelard's disciples, that he professed thoroughly to understand the mystery of the Trinity, and that he denied the merits of Christ. See Tosti, 140; Neander's 'Bernard,' 209; and for Walter (who eventually became bishop of Laon), Hist. Litt. xiii.; Hauréau, i. 252.

[x] There is a question as to the identity of the Gildas to whom this abbey was dedicated, with the author of the book 'De Excidio Britanniæ.' See Acta SS., Jan. 29, pp. 569, 570; T. Innes, ed. Spalding Club, 120-1; Hardy, Pref. to Mon. Hist Brit. 59, and Catal. of Materials for British History, i. 156. For an account of the present state of the monastery, see Jephson's Tour in Brittany, Lond. 1859.

was the lawlessness of the country that no redress of wrongs was to be had. In such circumstances, moreover, Abelard could not but feel that his intellectual gifts were altogether useless and wasted.[y]

A.D. 1129. Abbot Suger, of St. Denys, on the authority of old documents, brought forward a claim to the nunnery of Argenteuil, which was also denounced as a place of gross licentiousness; and his claim was admitted by a council held at Paris under a legate, whose decision was confirmed by Honorius II., and also by his successor Innocent.[z] The charges against the nuns, however, do not appear to have extended to Heloisa, who had become prioress and was held in general veneration; and Abelard, on hearing that she was about to lose her home, offered the deserted Paraclete to her and such of her sisters as she might choose for companions. The gift was confirmed by Innocent II., and the Paraclete received privileges from other popes, and became the mother of a small order.[a]

Abelard had drawn up the History of his Calamities, in the form of a letter to a (perhaps imaginary) friend;[b] and it fell into the hands of Heloisa, who was thus induced to write to him. Her letters are full of the most intense and undisguised passion; the worship of genius mingles in them with the glow of carnal love. In the freest language she reminds her husband of their former intercourse; she declares that by him she and all her family had been raised to eminence;[c] she charges herself with having caused his ruin, and declares that she would rather be his friend than his wife — rather his

[y] Hist. Cal. 13, 15.

[z] Suger, de Rebus in Administ. sua gestis, 3 (Patrol. clxxxvi.); Vita Lud. Grossi, ib. 1317; Testamentum, ib. 1443; Ludov. VI., ib. 1463; Hard. vi. 1145-8; Innoc. II. Ep. 15 (Patrol. clxxix.): Rémusat, i. 124-7; Tosti, 144-5.

[a] Innoc. Epp. 70, 188, 504; Patrol. clxxviii. 1847; Abæl. Hist. Cal. 13; Tosti, 147-8.

[b] Rémusat, i. 137.

[c] Ap. Abæl. Ep. 4, col. 105.

concubine, his harlot, than an empress.[d] She avows that, however those who know her not may think of her, she is at heart a hypocrite; that she still cares more for her lover than for God; that beneath the monastic dress there burns in her an unabated and unquenchable passion which disturbs her in her dreams, at her prayers, even at the most solemn devotion of the mass.[e] Abelard's replies are in a very different strain; he coldly points out to her the sinfulness of her former life, and urges her to seek for pardon and peace in the duties of the cloister.[f] He furnished her and her sisterhood with prayers and hymns, with a rule which as to externals was conceived in a spirit of Cistercian severity, and with directions for their studies borrowed in a great part from St. Jerome.[g] From time to time he visited the Paraclete; but as even these visits excited scandal, they became infrequent.[h] In 1134, apparently, he finally quitted Ruys,[i] although he still retained the abbacy; and once more he taught on the Mount of St. Geneviève, where John of Salisbury afterwards famous for his achievements in literature and for his connexion with Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was one of his pupils.[k]

On many important subjects—the mutual relations of the Divine Persons and other points connected with the doctrine of the Trinity; the Divine attributes; the work and merits of the Saviour;[l] the operations of the Holy

[d] Ep. 2, coll. 184-5. Pope, however, has grievously misrepresented her in his poetical Epistle. (See Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 44.) And the genuineness of the letters between her and Abelard has been much questioned. See Delepierre, 'Historical Difficulties,' c. 5 (Lond. 1868); and in defence of them, Hauréau, Art. *Héloise*, in the Nouv. Biographie Générale.

[e] Ep. 4, coll. 196-7. [f] Ep. 5.

[g] Epp. 7-9.

[h] Hist. Cal. 14.

[i] Chron. Rug. ap. Bouq. xii. 564; Rémus. i. 139.

[k] Joh. Sarisb. Metalog. ii. 10, 17; iii. 1; Rémus. i. 141; Schaarschmidt, 'Johannes Saresberiensis,' Leipz. 1862, p. 13.

[l] Helinand (Patrol. ccxii. 1035) quotes as follows from Godfrey of Auxerre, who, after having been a disciple of Abelard, became secretary to St. Bernard, one of the saint's biographers, and abbot of Clairvaux (see Hist. Litt. xiv. 432)—"Pretium redemptionis

Ghost; the sinfulness of man; the gift of prophecy;[m] the inspiration and the integrity of the Scriptures; the eucharistic presence; the character of miracles altogether, and the reality of those which were reported as of his own time;[n] the relations of faith, reason, and church authority; the penitential system, and the absolving powers of the priesthood—Abelard had vented opinions which were likely to draw suspicion on him.[o] To this was added the irritation produced by his unsparing remarks on the faults of bishops and clergy, of monks and canons;[p] and, in addition to the books which he had himself published, the circulation of imperfect reports of his lectures tended to increase the distrust of him which was felt. Yet while he bitterly complained of this distrust, it seems as if he even took a pride in exciting it. Without apparently intending to stray from the path of orthodoxy, he delighted to display his originality in peculiarities of thought and expression;[q] and hence, instead of a harmonious system, there re

evacuans, nil aliud nobis in sacrificio passionis Dominicæ (Petrus Abælardus) commendabat nisi virtutis exemplum et amoris incentivum. Quod enim Scripturæ perhibent, de potestate diaboli pretioso illo sanguine humanum genus esse redemptum, in eo solo constare dicebat, quod exemplum nobis exhibitum est usque ad mortem pro veritate et justitia certandi; et adhibitum est velut quoddam incentivum amoris, cum ex impenso amore occasio data est redamandi." On the other hand, Godfrey's later master, Bernard, is described as "Sic imitandum prædicans dominum patientem, et sic redamandum amantem, ut principalem hujus sacrificii causam redemptionem in eo profiteretur et adoraret humanam. Tria namque specialia nobis in sua passione Christus exhibuit; exemplum virtutis, incentivum amoris, redemptionis sacramentum. Quod tertium evacuanti hæretico nil prodesse cætera poterant." (Cf. Bern. Ep. 190, c. 9.) Yet, according to some late authorities, the doctrine which is thus so unequivocally stated as the established orthodoxy of the time, had been invented by Anselm of Canterbury about a quarter of a century before!

[m] 'Sic et Non,' Prolog., col. 1345.

[n] "Præterierunt miracula."—Theol. Christ. iii., col. 1212.

[o] See Neander's 'Bernard,' 171-5, 225, 229, 234, 240-1, 245; Ch. Hist., viii. 31, 33, 52, 147-9, 161, 190-6, 206-11; Cousin, ii. 152; Ritter, vii. 407, 411, 428-9; Tosti, 233, seqq.; Rémus. ii. 278, 297; l. iii. c. 6; Gieseler, II. ii. 390-1; Hefele, v. 411-23.

[p] See, *e.g.*, his sermon on St. John the Baptist (Serm. 33), especially the attack on Norbert's miracles, col. 605.

[q] Rémus. ii. 259; Ritter, vii. 408.

sulted a collection of isolated opinions, which, stated as they were without their proper balances and complements, were certain to raise misunderstanding and obloquy.[r] Ignorant as he was of Greek (for he owns that on this account he was unacquainted with Plato's writings),[s] and having little knowledge of antiquity even at second hand, he idealized the sages of heathenism,[t]—not only the Greek philosophers, but the Brachmans of India—whom he invidiously contrasted with the monks and clergy of his own day.[u] While he regarded the knowledge of the Saviour as necessary for all men, he held that the ancient sages had received this knowledge through the Sibyls;[x] and he supposed them to have attained to the doctrine of the Trinity, partly by the exercise of their reason, and partly as the reward of their pure and self-denying lives.[y] He supposed them to have had saving faith, and all but a historical knowledge of Christianity; he supposed their philosophy to have been nearer akin than Judaism to the gospel;[z] and he supposed the rites of the old law to have been needless for them, because these were not, like the gospel, intended for all mankind.[a] In a book which bore the title of "Yes and No,"[b] he had arranged under 158 heads the opinions of earlier Christian writers on a like number of subjects; not (as had been usual) for the purpose of exhibiting their agreement, or of harmonizing their differences, but in order that, by displaying these differences,

[r] Neander, 168; Ritter, vii. 426-7.

[s] Abæl. ed. Cousin, ii. 54-5; Neand. viii. 3. See below, ch. xiii. sect. 4.

[t] Rémus. ii. 261.

[u] Theol. Christ. l. i. coll. 1144, 1160, 1164; ii. coll. 1179-80, 1189; iii. coll. 1215, 1221, 1235-40; Introd. i. 17.

[x] Ib. 15, col. 1008; Neand. viii. 35.

[y] Introd. i. 15; Theol. Christ. i. col. 1139; Rémusat, ii. 267.

[z] Theol. Christ. l. ii. col. 1180.

[a] Introd. col. 1173.

[b] 'Sic et Non.' This was first published by Cousin, ('Œuv. Inéd.,' Paris, 1836), and is reprinted by Migne from the more complete edition of Henke (Marburg, 1851). Until known, it was supposed, from the old accounts of it, to be far more dangerous than it is.

he might claim for himself a like latitude to that which the teachers of older times had enjoyed without question. It was not to be wondered at that such a claim, with the novelty and strangeness of the opinions which he had advanced, should excite a general alarm. This feeling found expression through William, formerly abbot of St. Thierry, and now a Cistercian monk in the diocese of Reims, who addressed a letter to Bernard, and to Abelard's old patron, Geoffrey of Chartres, who was now papal legate for France.[c] William professes much affection for Abelard, but desires to draw attention to his errors—errors (he says) the more dangerous on account of his vast reputation, which is described as such that his works were carried across the Alps and the seas, and even in the Roman court were regarded as authoritative.[d] He also mentions the "Yes and No," and a work entitled "Know Thyself"; but, as he had not seen these, he could only conjecture that their contents were probably as monstrous as their names.[e]

Bernard and Abelard were not unacquainted with each other. They had met in 1131, at the consecration of an altar for the abbey of Maurigny by Pope Innocent;[f] and somewhat later, in consequence of a visit which Bernard had paid to the Paraclete, and of some remarks which he was reported to have made on usages which struck him as novel in that place, Abelard had addressed to him a letter,[g] which by its want of deference to the popular

[c] Ap. Bern. Ep. 326. In Patrol. clxxx. is William's 'Disputatio adversus Abælardum,' and also a treatise, ascribed to the same author, in which the fathers are set in opposition to Abelard.

[d] That cardinals had been among his pupils, and that he boasted of their favour, is often dwelt on by Bernard, *e.g.*, Epp. 188, c. 2, 192, 193, 331.

[e] Ap. Bern. Ep. 326. See Rémusat, i. 186. It is remarkable that some of the censured propositions are to be found only in these two books. William must therefore have got them from notes. Neander, viii. 250; Hefele, v. 403.

[f] Chron. Maurin., Patrol. clxxx. 159.

[g] Ep. 10.

saint, and by its somewhat satirical tone, was not likely to be acceptable. The old enmities between Abelard and some of Bernard's friends—William of Champeaux, Anselm of Laon, Alberic—and the fact that Arnold of Brescia, who had become notorious as the agitator of Rome, had once been Abelard's pupil—may have contributed to increase the abbot's dislike of him.[h] The two men were, indeed, representatives of opposite tendencies. Bernard felt none of Abelard's intellectual cravings. Although not an enemy of learning, he valued knowledge only with a view to practical good; he distrusted and dreaded speculation; and, while Abelard taught that "by doubt we come to inquiry, and by inquiry we ascertain the truth,"[i]—thus making doubt his starting-point,—it was Bernard's maxim that "The faith of the godly believes instead of discussing."[k] We may, therefore, easily understand that he was ready to listen to charges against a man so different from himself as Abelard;[l] he felt instinctively that there was danger, not so much in this or that individual point of his teaching, as in the general character of a method which seemed likely to imperil the orthodoxy of the church.[m]

On receiving William of St. Thierry's letter, Bernard sought an interview with Abelard, and endeavoured to persuade him to a retractation. Abelard, according to Bernard's biographer, consented to retract, but was afterwards induced by his disciples to depart from his promise:[n] in any case, he requested that the matter might be brought before a council which was to meet at Sens in the Whitsun-week of 1140. The king of France was present,

[h] Rémus. i. 117; Tosti, 215-16.

[i] 'Sic et Non,' col. 1349. See Gieseler, vi. 452.

[k] Ep. 338.

[l] Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. i. 47.

[m] Neander's 'Bernard,' 146-8; Ch. Hist. viii. 26; Ritter, vii. 408; Rémus. i. 193-4, ii. 355; Tosti, 187-8, 212.

[n] Vita, iii. 13. The story is improbable, as neither Bernard nor the council of Sens say anything of the alleged promise. Rémus. i. 192; Tosti, 211; Hefele, v. 404.

with a great number of bishops and other ecclesiastics; and the chief occasion of the meeting—the translation of the patron saint's relics—was of a nature to produce an excitement against any one who was supposed to impugn the popular religion, so that Abelard's life seems to have been in danger from the multitude.[o] Bernard had at first declined a summons to attend, on the ground that the question did not especially concern him, and also that he was but as a youth in comparison with such a controversial Goliath as Abelard.[p] He wrote, however, to the pope and to the Roman court, in strong denunciation of Abelard, both for his particular errors and for his general enmity to the established faith of the Church;[q] and at length the urgency of his friends prevailed on him to appear at the council. The representatives of intellect and of religious feeling, of speculative inquiry and of traditional faith, were now face to face. Seventeen articles were brought forward against Abelard, and Bernard, as the promoter of the charge, desired that they might be read aloud. But scarcely was the reading begun when Abelard,—losing courage, it would seem, at the thought of the influence and the prejudices arrayed against him,—surprised and disappointed the spectators by appealing to the pope.[r] Such an appeal, from judges of his own choosing, and before sentence, was a novelty unsanctioned by the laws of the church;[s] but the bishops admitted it, lest, by contesting the papal privileges, they should create a prejudice in favour of the appellant.[t] While, however, they refrained from condemning Abelard's person, they proceeded to examine the propositions im-

[o] Bern. Ep. 189; Hard. vi. 1221; O. Fris. de Gestis Frid. 48; Rémus. i. 200-3; Milman, iii. 370-2.

[p] Epp. 187; 189, c. 4.

[q] Ib. 188, 190. Hefele supposes these letters to have been written after the council, v. 405.

[r] Bern. Ep. 189, c. 4; Vita Bern., Patrol. clxxxv. 800; Tosti, 222; Rémus. i. 209.

[s] Bern. l. c.; Ep 338, c. 4.

[t] Neand. viii. 58.

puted to him, and pronounced fourteen out of the seventeen to be false and heretical.[u] A ludicrous account of the scene is given by one of Abelard's disciples named Berengar, in a letter addressed to Bernard himself, and marked throughout by the ostentatious contempt with which Abelard and his followers appear to have regarded the most admired saint and leader of the age. Berengar treats Bernard as a mere idol of the multitude—as a man gifted with a plentiful flow of words, but destitute of liberal culture and of solid abilities; as one who by the solemnity of his manner imposed the tritest truisms on his votaries as if they were profound oracles. He ridicules his reputation for miraculous power; he tells him that his proceedings against Abelard were prompted by a spirit of bigotry, jealousy, and vindictiveness, rendered more odious by his professions of sanctity and charity. Of the opinions imputed to his master, he maintains that some were never held by Abelard, and that the rest, if rightly interpreted, are true and catholic. The book, he says, was brought under consideration at Sens when the bishops had dined, and was read amidst their jests and laughter, while the wine was doing its work on them. Any expression which was above their understanding excited their rage and curses against Abelard. As the reading went on, one after another became drowsy; and when they were asked whether they condemned his doctrines, they answered in their sleep without being able fully to pronounce their words.[x] The council re-

[u] Bern. t. i. 1049, seqq.; Ep. 337, c. 4; Vita Bern. iii. 14. M. de Rémusat says that the propositions were not unfairly charged on Abelard, although they are not to be found word for word in his works (i. 214-15). Cf. Mabillon in Bern. i. 1045; Hefele, v. 423, seqq.

[x] "Lector surdis exclamabat auribus pontificum 'Damnatis?' Tunc quidam vix ad extremam syllabam expergefacti, somnolenta voce, capite pendulo, 'Damnamus' aiebant. Alii vero damnantium tumultu excitati, decapitata prima syllaba, '. . . . namus,' inquiunt. Vere natis; sed natatio vestra procella, natatio vestra mersio est." (Petrol. clxxviii. 1859.) The tract is truly described by Petrarch (Contra Galli Calumnias, ed. Basil.

ported the condemnation to the pope, with a request that he would confirm it, and would prohibit Abelard from teaching ;[y] and a like request was urged by Bernard in letters addressed to Innocent and to some of the most important cardinals.[z]

Abelard's hopes of finding favour at Rome were disappointed. His interest in the papal court was far inferior to Bernard's, and his connexion with the revolutionary Arnold of Brescia, who had attended him at the council—a connexion which Bernard had carefully put forward [a]—could not but weigh heavily against him.[b] On reaching Lyons, on the way to prosecute his appeal, he was astounded to find that the pope, without waiting for his appearance, without any inquiry whether Abelard had used the language imputed to him, or whether it had been rightly understood, had condemned him, with all his errors (which, however, were not specified), and had sentenced him and Arnold to be shut up in separate monasteries.[c] But in this distress, the "venerable" Peter, a man of wider charity than Bernard, not out of indifference to orthodoxy, but from respect for Abelard's genius and from pity for his misfortunes,[d] offered him an asylum at Cluny, where, with the pope's sanction, Abelard lived in devotion, study, and in the exercise of his abilities as a teacher.[e] Here he drew up two confessions (one of them addressed to Heloisa), in which he dis-

1554, p. 1185) as "non magni quidem corporis, sed ingentis acrimoniæ." From a second letter it appears that Berengar got into trouble on account of it, so that he was obliged to make a retractation, and did not venture to publish (as he had intended) a further defence of Abelard. See as to him, Hist. Litt. xii. 254-60.

[y] Bern. Epp. 191, 337.

[z] Ib. 192-3, 330-8. Some of these, however, were, perhaps, earlier than the council.

[a] Epp. 189, 195.

[b] Neand. viii. 61.

[c] Innoc. Epp. 447-8 (July 16, 1140). See Berengar on this treatment, Patrol. clxviii. 1181.

[d] Tosti, 267 ; Rémus. i. 249. There are some letters from the abbot of Cluny to one Peter, whom Mabillon and Tosti (135-8) identify with Abelard, but Duchesne (Patrol. clxxxix. 77), and Neander (Bern. 284) suppose to be another person.

[e] Pet. Cluniac. Ep. iv. 4 ; Rémus. i. 256.

owned some of the things imputed to him, "the words in part, and the meaning altogether,"[f] and strongly declared his desire to adhere to the catholic faith in all points.[g] Yet there is reason to suppose that he would not have admitted himself to have erred, except to the extent of having used words open to misconstruction;[h] and, although he had been reconciled with Bernard through the good offices of the abbots of Cluny and Cîteaux,[i] he still blamed him for interfering in matters which he had not been trained to understand,[k] and declared that the charges against himself had been brought forward out of malice and ignorance.[l]

Finding that his guest's health was failing, Peter removed him, in the hope of recovery, from Cluny to the dependent monastery of St. Marcel, near Châlons on the Saône; and there Abelard ended his agitated life in 1142. His body, in compliance with the desire which he had expressed, was sent to the Paraclete for burial. At Heloisa's request, the abbot of Cluny pronounced him absolved from all his sins, and the absolution was hung on his tomb; and Peter, who, in announcing his death to Heloisa, had highly praised his piety, humility, and resignation, com

[f] Otto Frising. de Gestis Frid. i. 49.

[g] Patrol. clxxviii. 105-8: Ep. 17.

[h] Neand. viii. 63. See Rémus. i. 304.

[i] Pet. Cluniac. Ep. iv. 4.

[k] An anonymous writer, quoted by Neander, viii. 63, from the 'Bibliotheca Cisterciensis,' blames him—"quod abbatem literatissimum, et quod majus est, religiosissimum, vocat inexpertum artis illius quæ magistra est disserendi." This seems clearly to show that Ep. 13—"Against one who was ignorant of dialectic, yet found fault with the study of it,"—was addressed to Bernard, and not, as some have supposed, to Roscellin.

[l] Apol. in Patrol. clxxviii. 108. In the same place he says that he had been surprised to find charges against him founded on a book which was called his 'Sentences,' inasmuch as he had never written any book "qui Sententiarum dicatur." This may be accounted for by supposing either that the book was put together by one of his disciples, from his works or from his oral teaching; or that it was one of his own, but cited under a different title from that which he had given it. In either case it seems to be the same which has been published by Rheinwald with the title of 'Epitome Theologiæ Christianæ.' See Rheinw. in Patrol. clxxviii. 1685, seqq.; Neand. viii. 54; Cousin, ii. 567.

posed an epitaph in which he was celebrated at once for his intellectual gifts and for that better philosophy to which his last days had been devoted.[m] Heloisa survived her husband until the year 1163.

Ever since the beginning of the contest between the papacy and the empire a spirit of independence had been growing among the Italian cities. The emperors were rarely seen on the southern side of the Alps, and although their sovereignty was admitted, it was practically little felt. Most of the Lombard cities set up governments of their own, under a republican form; and, with that love of domination which generally accompanies the republican love of liberty, the stronger endeavoured to reduce the weaker to subjection.[n] In this movement towards independence, the claims of the bishops were found to stand in the way of the inhabitants of the cities; and this, with other circumstances, had prepared the people to listen to any teachers who might arise to denounce the hierarchy.[o] Such a teacher, named Arnulf,[p] had appeared at Rome in 1128, professing a divine commission to preach against the pride and luxury, the immorality and greediness, of the cardinals and of other ecclesiastics. Arnulf, after having disregarded warnings, met with the death which he had expected and courted—being seized and thrown into the Tiber by night;[q] but in no long time a more formidable successor arose in Arnold of Brescia.

Arnold was born at Brescia, probably about the year

[m] Pet. Ep. iv. 21; Patrol. clxxviii. 103.

[n] Otto Frising. vii. 29; Muratori, Annali VI. ii. 115; Hallam, M. A. i. 230-3.

[o] Giesel. II. ii. 69.

[p] By some he is called Arnold. See Francke, 'Arnold von Brescia und seine Zeit,' pp. 12, 57, Zurich, 1827. Platina, who speaks of him with great praise, says that it is not certain whether he was a priest, a monk, or a hermit. 193.

[q] Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1128, pp. 120-1, ed. Francof. 1601; Platina, 193.

1105, and grew up amid the agitations and struggles which marked the rise of Lombard independence, and in which his native city largely shared.[r] That he was a pupil of Abelard appears certain, although the time and the place are matters for conjecture.[s] But although the master and the scholar were both animated by a spirit of independence, it would seem that Arnold had nothing of Abelard's speculative character (for he is not even distinctly charged with any heresy), but was bent entirely on practical measures of reform.[t] After having officiated for a time as a reader in the church of Brescia, Arnold separated himself from the secular clergy, embraced a strict monastic life, and began to inveigh unsparingly against the corruptions of both clergy and monks in a strain which resembled at once the extreme Hildebrandine party and their extreme opponents.[u] There had been much in the late history of Brescia to produce disgust at the assumption of temporal power by ecclesiastics; and Arnold, filled with visions of apostolical poverty and purity,—of a purely spiritual church working by spiritual means alone,—imagined that the true remedy for the evils

[r] Guadagnini, in Append. to Niccolini's tragedy, 'Arnoldo da Brescia,' Marseilles, 1843, pp. 1, 9, 11; Milman, iii. 383-6; Francke, 14.

[s] Otto de Gestis Frid. ii. 20. etc. See Pagi, xviii. 594; Neander, Bern. 39; Ch. Hist. vii. 203; Giesel. II. ii. 71; Guadagnini, 5; Milman, iii. 484; Francke, 30-1; Hefele, v. 393; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, i. 545. Gunher says of him, "tenui nutrivit Gallia sumptu" (Ligurinus, iii. 264, Patrol. ccxii.); but as this book, instead of being the work of a contemporary, is now ascribed to Conrad Celtes, who died in 1508 (Potthast, 357; Gregorovius, iv. 454), it cannot be reckoned as an authority.

[t] Pseudo-Gunther says of him—

"Articulos etiam fidei certumque tenorem
Non satis exacta stolidus pietate fovebat."
(iii. 292-4.)

But he was never called to account for heresy; and although Otho of Freising tells us that he was said to be unsound as to infant-baptism and the eucharist (ii. 20), this had probably no other foundation than his opposition to sacerdotal claims in general. (Francke, l. c.; Milman, iii. 384.) That he was connected with sectaries, such as the Cathari and Waldenses, is a groundless fancy of Francke. Giesel. II. ii. 71.

[u] Otto, ii. 20; Gunther, iii. 265, seqq.; Francke, 82-3; Gregorov. iv. 452. Compare with the accounts of Arnold's preaching, Gerhoh. de Ædificio Dei. 10 (Patrol. cxciv.).

which had been felt would be to strip the hierarchy of their privileges, to confiscate their wealth, and to reduce them for their support to the tithes, with the free-will offerings of the laity.[x] These doctrines were set forth with copious eloquence, in words which, as Bernard says, were "smoother than oil, and yet were they very swords."[y] Nor can we wonder that they were heard with eagerness by the multitude, who, according to the preacher's scheme, were both to be enriched with the spoils of the church and for the future were to hold the clergy in dependence. The bishop of Brescia complained to the pope; and the Lateran council of 1139, without having called Arnold before it, condemned him to silence and to banishment beyond the Alps.[z] On this he withdrew into France, and in the following year he appeared at Sens as Abelard's chief supporter—"the shield-bearer of that Goliath," as Bernard styles him.[a] Although, however, he was sentenced by the pope in consequence to imprisonment in a monastery,[b] it would seem that the French bishops did not feel themselves concerned to carry out the sentence; and for some years Arnold lived and taught at Zurich unmolested,[c] being tolerated by

[x] Otto and Gunther, ll. cc. Compare the proposal made by Paschal II. to Henry V., above, p. 5. Luden observes that Arnold had no idea of property except as held feudally under the sovereign, x. 593.

[y] Ep. 195. "Molliti sunt sermones ejus super oleum, et ipsi sunt jacula." [Psalm liv. 22. Lat. Vulg.] This scriptural sarcasm on the inconsistency between the manner and the substance of Arnold's discourses (cf. Ep. 196) becomes something very different in Dean Milman's account: "His eloquence was singularly sweet, copious, and flowing, but at the same time vigorous and awakening, sharp as a sword, and soft as oil" (iii. 387). The softness of Arnold's manner is also noticed by Otho of Freising: "rudis populi animos *præmolli* dogmate ad animositatem accensis," ii. 20.

[z] Ib.; Gunth. iii. 300, seqq. Pagi (xviii. 582), Francke (86), and others are mistaken in supposing Arnold to be one of those who are condemned in the council's 23rd canon. See Gieseler, II. ii. 71; Guadagnini, 27.

[a] Ep. 189, c. 3. Cf. Epp. 195, 330.

[b] See p. 120. The Hist. Pontif. states that when Abelard had retired to Cluny, Arnold taught in his school at St. Geneviève, and was dislodged by the king at Bernard's desire. Pertz, xx. 537.

[c] Otto, ii. 20; Gunther, iii. 304-12; Francke, 121.

Herman, bishop of Constance, and even admitted as an inmate into the house of the papal legate, Guy of Castello, although Bernard, by applications both to the legate and to the bishop, endeavoured to dislodge him.[d]

In the meantime his principles had made way at Rome—although rather in their political than in their religious character—and the more, perhaps, on account of the attention which had been drawn to him by the Lateran condemnation. Provoked by the pope's having concluded peace with Tivoli in his own name alone, and having granted too favourable terms, the Romans in 1143 burst into insurrection, displaced the government, and established in the Capitol a senate on the ancient Roman model.[e] They resolved that their city should resume its ancient greatness—that it should be the capital of the world, as well in a secular as in a religious sense; but that the secular administration should be in different hands from the spiritual. As the popes were connected with the southern Normans, the revolutionary party felt themselves obliged to look for an alliance in some other direction. They therefore turned towards Conrad, king of the Romans; and perhaps it was at this time that they addressed to him a letter in which they profess themselves devoted to his interest, represent their services in opposition to his and their common enemies,—the clergy and the Sicilians,—and entreat him to receive the imperial crown at Rome, and to revive the glories of the empire by ruling as a new

[d] Bern. Epp. 195-6. Guy had been a pupil of Abelard, possibly at the same time with Arnold. Guadagn. 100; Francke, 122.

[e] Otto Fris. vii. 27; Card. Arag. in Patrol. clxxix. 36; Gerhoh. in Psal. lxiv. 56; Francke, 161; Sismondi, R. I. i. 295. The senate is often mentioned in the time of Charlemagne, and later; but it is not known what its power then was, nor when it was superseded by the popes. (Murat. Annal. VI., ii. 274.) The name, indeed, seems rather to have been used to designate the nobles than a deliberative body. Gregorov. IV. b. viii. c. 4.

Constantine or Justinian, with the assistance of the senate, in "the city which is the capital of the world."[f] Conrad, however, would seem to have suspected that these proposals were not so much intended for his interest as for that of the party from which they came; and he preferred an alliance with the pope, whose envoys waited on him at the same time.[g]

The revolt of the Romans was fatal to Innocent II., who died in September 1143,[h] and was succeeded by Celestine the Second, the same who, as Cardinal Guy of Castello, had been the pupil of Abelard and the protector of Arnold. Celestine was a man of high character, both for learning and for moderation;[i] but his pontificate of less than six months was marked by no other considerable act than the removal of an interdict under which Lewis "the Young" of France had lain for some years on account of some differences as to the archbishoprick of Bourges.[k] The royal power had been rapidly growing in France. The number of the great fiefs had been diminished through the failure of male heirs, in consequence of which many of them had passed into new families by the marriage of the heiresses; the kings had made it their policy to raise the commons, and had strengthened themselves by allying themselves with them against the nobles; agriculture was greatly

[f] Otto, de Gest. Frid. i. 28; Wibald, Epp. 211-13 (Patrol. clxxxix.). The mention of Constantine implies a disbelief in the "Donation," which also appears in the letter of the Romans to Frederick I., some years later. See below. (That it was generally disbelieved by the imperialists, see Godefr. Viterb. l. xvi., Patrol. cxcviii. 883; and see a question as to it in the 'Chron. Farfense,' A.D. 1105, Murat. II. 637.) This letter to Conrad is dated by some as early as 1138; by others, as late as 1150. See Muratori, Ann. 1146; Schröckh, xxvi. 121; Planck, IV. ii. 328; Neander's 'Bernard,' 315; Sismondi, R. I., i. 296; Milman, iii. 393. Gieseler (II. ii. 72) places it in 1143.

[g] Otto, de Gest. Frid. ii. 24; Sismondi, R. I., i. 298. [h] Otto, vii. 27.

[i] Chron. Mauriniac., Patrol. clxxx. 173.

[k] See Martin, iii. 421. The interdict was against the king's person, so that, in all places which he entered, divine offices ceased. R. de Diceto, 500.

extended; population, industry, and wealth were increased.[1] Lewis VII., who had become sole king by the death of his father in 1137, had very greatly extended the royal territory by his marriage with Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, and the successful outset of his reign had gained for him a reputation which was ill maintained by his conduct in later years. For a time he showed himself indifferent to the ecclesiastical sentence which had been pronounced against him; but in 1143 a change was produced in him by a terrible incident which took place in the course of a war between him and Theobald, count of Champagne—the burning of 1300 men, women, and children, who had taken refuge in a church at Vitry. Deeply struck with horror and remorse on account of the share which he considered himself to have had in their death, he solicited absolution, which Celestine readily bestowed—the questions in dispute between the crown and the church being settled by a compromise.[m]

Under Celestine's successor, a Bolognese who exchanged his name of Gerard de' Caccianemici for that of Lucius II., the republicans of Rome ventured further than before. Arnold himself appears to have been now among them, having perhaps repaired to Rome in reliance on Celestine's kindness, although the time of his arrival is uncertain.[n] The constitution was developed by the creation of an equestrian order, and by the election of tribunes. A "patrician" named Jordan, who appears to have been a brother of the late antipope Anacletus, was substituted for the papal prefect of the

[1] Rob. Antissiod. in Bouq. xii. 299; Sismondi, v. 256, 286.

[m] Sigebert, Contin. Præmonstr., A.D. 1143; Chron. Maurin. 173; Martin, iii. 422-3. Several of Bernard's letters relate to this affair, *e.g.*, 116-17, 119-26, 219, 226. See R. de Diceto, 509.

[n] Otho of Freising says, "Comperta morte Innocentii, circa principia pontificatus Eugenii urbem ingressus" (ii. 20), passing over the two intermediate popes. See Muratori, Ann. VI., ii. 282; Luden, x. 197; Niccolini, 278; Milman, iii. 390

city, and, as a matter of policy, this patrician was theoretically regarded as a representative of the emperor, whose lordship the revolutionary government affected to acknowledge.[o] The palaces and houses of cardinals and nobles were destroyed; some of the cardinals were personally assaulted; and the pope was required to surrender his royalties, and to content himself and his clergy with tithes and voluntary offerings.[p] Lucius, who was supported by a powerful party of nobles (among whom were the patrician's own brothers), resolved to put down the republic, and, at the head of a strong force, proceeded to the Capitol with the intention of dispersing the senators; but the senate and the mob combined to resist, and in the tumult which ensued the pope was wounded by a stone, which caused his death.[q]

Feb. 15, 1145.

The vacant throne was filled by the election of Peter Bernard, a Pisan by birth, who had been a pupil of Bernard of Clairvaux, and had been appointed by Innocent II. to the abbacy of St. Anastasius at the Three Fountains, near Rome—a monastery which that pope rebuilt, and, in gratitude for Bernard's services, bestowed on the Cistercian order.[r] The character of the new pope, who styled himself Eugenius III., had been chiefly noted for an extreme simplicity, so that his old superior, while he congratulated him on his election and expressed the fullest confidence in his intentions, thought it necessary almost to blame the cardinals for the choice which they had made, and to bespeak their forbearance and assistance for him;[s] but Eugenius, to the surprise of all

[o] This they did the more readily because there was at the time no emperor, Conrad not having received the crown. Gregorov. iv. 461.

[p] Otto, Fris. vii. 31; de G. Fr. ii. 20; Lucius ad Conrad. Ep. 83 (Patrol. clxxix.); Sismondi, R. I., i. 295, 300.

[q] Godefr. Viterb., in Patrol. cxcviii. 988; Pagi, xviii. 640; Sismondi, R. I., i. 296; Jaffé.

[r] Vita Bern. ii. 50; Gregorov. iv. 418, 463. See above, p. 77, n. [h].

[s] Epp. 237-8.

who had known him, now displayed an eloquence and a general ability which were referred to miraculous illumination.[t] The rites of his consecration were disturbed by an irruption of the citizens, demanding that he should acknowledge their republican government; and he withdrew to the monastery of Farfa, where the ceremony was completed.[u] The anathemas which he pronounced against his contumacious people were unheeded; but after residing for some time at Viterbo, he was enabled to effect a re-entrance into Rome, where he agreed to acknowledge the senate on condition that its members should be chosen with his approval, and that he should be allowed to nominate a prefect instead of the patrician.[x] But the Romans, finding that he refused to gratify their enmity against the inhabitants of Tivoli, to whom he had been chiefly indebted for his restoration, drove him again from the city, and the people, excited by the harangues of Arnold, who had brought with him a body of two thousand Swiss,[y] continued their attacks upon the nobles and the clergy; they fortified St. Peter's and plundered the pilgrims, killing some of them in the church itself.[z] Bernard strongly remonstrated with the Romans on the expulsion of Eugenius, and urged the emperor elect to interfere for his restoration.[a] But during the pope's residence at Viterbo tidings had been received from the East which for the time superseded all other interests.

Feb. 18, 1145.

Jan. 1146.

March 1146.

The Latins had kept their footing in the East chiefly

[t] Joh. Petrib. in Sparke, 75.

[u] Otto Fris. vii. 3.

[x] Ib. 21.

[y] J. von Müller, Gesch. d. Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft, in Works, xix. 315, Tübing. 1810-19.

[z] Otto, vii. 31, 34. An 'Anonymus Casinensis,' in Murat. v. 142 (A.D. 1145), says that, for the sake of peace with the Romans, Eugenius ordered the walls of Tivoli to be destroyed. But Muratori rejects this story. Annali, VI., ii. 284. See Luden, x. 203-4.

[a] Epp. 243-4.

in consequence of the dissensions of their enemies, but had failed to learn from them the necessity of union among themselves. The great feudatory princes of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli quarrelled with the kings of Jerusalem and with each other. The barons were defiant and unruly, and their oppressive treatment of their inferiors rendered them more hateful to the Christians than they were to the infidels. The patriarchs quarrelled with the kings and with the popes; the patriarchs of Jerusalem quarrelled with those of Antioch; while the archiepiscopal province of Tyre, which, on the acquisition of that city in 1127, had been assigned by Pope Honorius to Jerusalem, but was claimed by Antioch, suffered under the tyranny of both.[b] The military orders already began to display an intolerable pride and a contempt of all external authority. The relations of the Latins with the Greek empire, although improved since the days of Alexius Comnenus, were still uneasy.[c] The religious motive which had given birth to the Latin kingdom was forgotten, so that pilgrims were objects of mockery in the Holy Land, and were disliked as intruders. The successors of the crusaders had in general settled down into a life of ease and luxury, in which the worst features of oriental life were imitated; and a mongrel race, the offspring of European fathers and of eastern mothers, had grown up, who were known by the name of *Poulains*,[d] and are described as utterly effeminate and depraved—"more timid than women, and more perfidious than slaves."[e]

[b] See Honor. II., Epp. 69-71 (Patrol. clxvi.); Innoc. II., Epp. 302, 321, 323, 348, 351, etc. (ib. clxxix.); Fulcher. Carnot. iii. 34 (ib. clv.); Will. Tyr. xiii. 1-14, 23; xiv. ii. 11-14 (ib. cci.); Wilken, III. ii. 511, 697, seqq.

[c] See Will. Tyr. xii. 5; Innoc. II., Ep. 309; Wilken, ii. 642, 656.

[d] "Vel quia recentes et novi, quasi pulli, respectu Surianorum reputati sunt; vel quia principaliter de gente Apuliæ matres secundum carnem habuerunt." (Jac. Vitriac. 1086.) Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, proposes an Arabic derivation—"perhaps *fulân, anybodies.*" Jerusalem, p. 200.

[e] Will. Tyr. xi. 28; xxi. 7; Jac. Vitriac., 1086-8; Wilken, ii. 205-7, 234, 593-6, 619; Sismondi, Hist. des Fr. v. 298.

In December 1144, Zenghis, prince of Mosul and Aleppo, taking advantage of the enmity between the Frank rulers of Edessa and Antioch, made himself master of Edessa, chiefly through the assistance of an Armenian whose daughter had been debauched by the count, Jocelin. The archbishop, who is said to have allowed the capture to take place rather than expend his treasures in the payment of soldiers, was crushed to death. A frightful slaughter of the Christian inhabitants was carried on, until it was stopped by the command of Zenghis, and a multitude of captives were sold as slaves.[f] Zenghis himself was soon after assassinated,[g] and during the absence of his son Noureddin the Christians regained possession of the place through an agreement with the Armenian inhabitants; but when they had held it a few days, Noureddin recovered it with great slaughter, punished the inhabitants with terrible severity, and, after having enriched himself by the plunder of the city, utterly destroyed it.[h]

The exultation of the Mussulmans at this great success was boundless;[i] and not less intense were the feelings of grief and indignation with which the tidings of their triumph were received among the Christians of the west. The city of King Abgarus, who had been honoured by a letter from the Saviour himself; the city where the miraculously-impressed image of the Saviour's countenance, his gift to Abgarus, had been preserved for centuries, and had served as a protection against the attacks of infidel besiegers;[k] the city where the apostle St. Thaddeus had

[f] W. Tyr. xiv. 3; xvi. 4-5; Wilken, ii. 724-7; Michaud, iii. 84; Bibl. des Croisades, iv. 73-6, 499 (from eastern sources). For the history of Zenghis (whom the Latins called *Sanguinius*) see Gibbon, v. 477; Wilken, ii. 576, seqq.; Michaud, Bibl. d. Cr. iv. 57, seqq. The Auersperg chronicler says that he was son of a Saracen by Ida, the mother of Leopold of Austria, 210.

[g] Michaud, Bibl. iv. 78.

[h] W. Tyr. xvi. 7, 14-16; Michaud, Bibl. iv. 90-3; Wilken, ii. 730-3.

[i] Michaud, Bibl. iv. 76-7.

[k] See vol. iii. p. 40.

preached, which still possessed his body, and that of St. Thomas, the apostle of the Indies;[1] the city which had maintained its Christianity while all around it fell under the Mussulman yoke, was now in the hands of the unbelievers; thousands of Christians had been slain, and the enemy of the cross was pressing on, so that, unless speedy aid were given, the Latins would soon be altogether driven from the Holy Land.[m] Eugenius resolved to stir up a new crusade; and on the 1st of December 1145 he addressed to the king, the princes, and the people of France, a letter summoning them to the holy war. The privileges formerly offered by Urban II. were renewed—remission of sins for all who should engage in the expedition; the protection of the church for their families and property; no suits were to be brought against them until their return; those who were in debt were discharged from payment of interest, and it was allowed that the possessors of fiefs should pledge them in order to raise the expenses of the war.[n]

It was natural that such a call should be first addressed to France, the chosen refuge of expelled popes, the country which had given princes, and laws, and language to the crusading colonies of the East.[o] And Lewis VII., then about twenty-six years of age, was ready to take the cross—from feelings of devotion, from remorse for the conduct which had drawn on him the censures of the church and for his guilt in the calamity of Vitry, from a belief that he was bound by a promise which his brother Philip had been prevented by death from fulfilling; perhaps, too, by the hope of sharing in the saintly glory which crowned the names of Godfrey and Tancred.[p] At

[1] Will. Tyr. xvi. 5; Chron. Mailros., A.D. 1148.

[m] Eugen. Ep. 48; Sigeb. Contin. Præmonstr., A.D. 1145; Gerhoh. in Ps. xxxix., Patrol. cxciii. 1436.

[n] Ep. 48 (Patrol. clxxx.). On the date, see Luden, x. 598.

[o] Sismondi, Hist. des Fr. v. 301, 315.

[p] Otto, de Gestis Frid. i. 34; Sigeb. Contin. Præmonstr., A.D. 1143, 1146; Wilken, iii. 37.

a parliament[q] which was held at Bourges, at Christmas 1145, he proposed the subject to his nobles, and the bishop of Langres excited them by a description of the scenes which had taken place in the East; but as the number of those who were present was not great, the business of a crusade was adjourned to a larger meeting, which was to be held at Vezelay at the following Easter.[r] To this Lewis summoned all the princes of Gaul, and, as neither the abbey church nor the market place of Vezelay could hold the assembled multitude, they were ranged along the declivity of the hill on which the little town is built, and in the valley of the Cure below.[s] The pope had been requested to attend, but had been compelled by the renewed troubles of Rome to excuse himself, and had delegated the preaching of the crusade to Bernard, who, although for some years he had been suffering from sickness, enthusiastically took up the cause.[t] At Vezelay, Bernard set forth with glowing eloquence the sufferings of the eastern Christians, and the profanation of the holy places by the infidels. His speech was interrupted by loud and eager cries of "The cross! The cross!" Lewis and his queen were the first to take the sign of enrolment in the sacred cause; princes, nobles, and a multitude of others pressed forward, until the crosses which had been provided were exhausted, when the abbot, the king, and others gave up part of their own dresses in order to furnish a fresh supply.[u] It was agreed that the expedition should be ready to set out within a year, and the great assembly of Vezelay was followed by meetings in other towns of France, at which Bernard's eloquence and the prophet-like authority which he had gained[x]

[q] The word is said to occur for the first time in the 'Gesta Ludovici,' where it is applied to this meeting. Luden, x. 601.

[r] Hefele, v. 443.

[s] Chron. Anon. ap. Bouq. xii. 120; Odo de Deogilo, Patrol. clxxxv. 1207.

[t] Ib.; Wilken, iii. 43-4.

[u] Odo de Deog. 1207; Nicolaus ap. Bern., Ep. 467; Sismondi, v. 306.

[x] Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 34.

were everywhere triumphant, and enlisted crowds of zealous followers. At Chartres he was urged to become the leader of the crusade; but, warned by the failure of Peter the Hermit,[y] he felt his unfitness for such a post, and told the assembly that his strength would not suffice to reach the distant scene of action; that they should choose a leader of a different kind.[z] "There is more need there," he told the abbot of Morimond, "of fighting soldiers than of chanting monks."[a]

The scenes of the first crusade were renewed. Miracles, prophecies, promises of success drawn out of the Sibylline oracles, contributed to stir up the general enthusiasm.[b] Bernard tells us that cities and castles were emptied; that the prophecy of "seven women taking hold of one man" was almost fulfilled among those who remained behind.[c] Many robbers and other outcasts of society embraced the new way of salvation which was opened to them; hymns took the place of profane songs; violence ceased, so that it was considered wrong even to carry arms for the sake of safety.[d] Yet amid the general excitement and zeal, many bitter complaints were raised (especially from the monastic societies) against the heavy taxation by which the king found it necessary to raise money for his expedition.[e]

From France Bernard proceeded into Germany, where an ignorant and fanatical monk, named Rudolf, had

[y] Epp. 363-8.

[z] Ep. 256. Peter of Cluny was obliged unwillingly to decline an invitation to Chartres. Epp. vi. 18, 20; Bern. Ep. 364.

[a] Ep. 359.

[b] Annal. S. Jac. Leod., A.D. 1146, ap. Pertz, xvi. For pretended miracles, see Annal. Reichersperg. in Pertz, xvii. 463.

[c] Ep. 247. (Isa. iv. 1.) "St. Bernard exagère visiblement, quand il nous dit que pour sept femmes il restait un homme," says M. Michelet (iii. 129); and M. de Sismondi (v. 308) is equally unaware of the scriptural allusion. Gibbon, who probably understood the matter better, treats it more offensively, v. 476.

[d] Otto, de Gestis Frid. i. 29, 40; Gerhoh. in Psalm. 39 (Patrol. cxciii. 1434-6).

[e] R. de Diceto, 509; Sismondi, v. 317-18; Wilken, iii. 86-8. See as to the case of the abbey of Fleury, Bouq. xii. 9

been preaching the crusade with much success, but had combined with it a denunciation of the Jews, of whom great numbers had been slaughtered in consequence.[f] At such times of excitement against the enemies of Christ the Jews were generally sufferers. Even Peter of Cluny on this occasion wrote to the French king, denouncing them as more distant from Christianity and more bitter against it than the Saracens, and advising that, although they ought not to be slain, their wealth should be confiscated for the holy enterprise.[g] But Bernard was against all measures of violence towards them, and wished only that they should be forbidden, as the pope had forbidden all Christians, to exact usury from the crusaders.[h] He therefore reprobated Rudolf's preaching in the strongest terms, and, as the monk disowned submission to any ecclesiastical authority,[i] Bernard, at the request of the archbishop of Mentz, undertook a journey into Germany for the purpose of counteracting his influence.[k] In an interview at Mentz, Rudolf was convinced of his error; filled with shame and sorrow for the effects of his preaching, he withdrew into a cloister; and although such was the exasperation which he had produced among the people that Bernard was almost stoned on attempting to dissuade those of Frankfort from violence and plunder against the Jews, the abbot's humane exertions were successful in arresting the persecution.[l]

[f] Otto Frs. de Gestis Frid. i. 37.

[g] Ep. iv. 36. Peter, however, wrote a controversial book against the Jews, which shows a real desire for their good. In another work, he contrasts the unreasoning fanaticism of the Saracens with the toleration which Christians shewed to Jews (Adv. Sect. Sarac. i. 12). A Council at Tours in 1236 forbids crusaders to kill, beat, or plunder Jews, "cum Ecclesia Judæos sustineat, quæ non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur et vivat," c. 1.

[h] Ep. 363.

[i] He is described as of Bernard's own order in the Annal. Rodenses (Pertz, xvi. 718); but if so, his disavowal of the episcopal authority was contrary to the Cistercian professions. See above, p. 49.

[k] Ep. 365.

[l] Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 39. Joseph Ben Meir, a Jewish writer of the

At Frankfort Bernard had interviews with Conrad, whom he endeavoured to draw into the crusade. In Germany, where there was not that special connection with the eastern Latins which had contributed to rouse the French to their assistance, less of sympathy was to be expected than in France; and the king's age, his knowledge of the difficulties, acquired in an earlier pilgrimage to the Holy Land,[m] and most especially the political state of Germany, of Italy, and of Rome, combined to dissuade him from the expedition.[n] Although, therefore, Bernard was able to remove some of the obstacles by reconciling him with princes who might have been likely to take advantage of his absence, Conrad steadily resisted his solicitations, and Bernard was about to return to Clairvaux, when he was invited by Herman, bishop of Constance, to wait for a diet which was to be held at Spires, and in the meanwhile to preach the crusade in the diocese of Constance.[o]

The fame of Bernard and his reputation for miracles were already well known in Germany, and, as he journeyed up the Rhine, crowds everywhere flocked to him, entreating his pity for the cure of the sick, the blind, the lame, and the possessed. His own enthusiasm (for, although he disavowed all credit on account of his miracles, he believed them to be real, and to be attestations of his cause)[p] and the enthusiasm of the people were raised to the highest degree; every day, says a biographer who had accompanied him on his mission, he did some miracles, and on some days as many as twenty.[q] As he was unacquainted with the language of

16th century, gives an account of the persecution from a Jewish narrative of the time. "Bernard," he says, "took no ransom for the Jews, for he had from his heart spoken good for Israel." See Wilken, III. i.; Beilage, 1.

[m] See above, p. 86; Ekkehard, A.D. 1124 (Patrol. cliv.).

[n] Luden, x. 213, 223.

[o] Wilken, iii. 65.

[p] Alan., Vita Bern. 27. See above, p. 78.

[q] Vita, iii. 9. Books v. to vii. are filled with accounts of these and other

the country, his discourses were explained by an interpreter; but his looks and tones and gestures penetrated to the hearts of the Germans far more than the chilled words of the translator; they wept and beat their breasts, and even tore the saint's clothes in order that they might take the cross.[r] Returning to Spires, Bernard there again urged his cause on Conrad with such force that the king promised to consult his advisers, and to answer on the morrow. But at the mass which followed immediately after this interview, Bernard, contrary to custom and without notice, introduced a sermon, which he wound up by a strong personal appeal to Conrad—representing him as standing before the judgment-seat, and as called by the Saviour to give an account for all the benefits which had been heaped on him. The "miracle of miracles," as Bernard styled it,[s] was wrought. Conrad burst into tears, and declared himself ready to obey the call to God's service; and, amid the loud shouts of all who were present, Bernard, taking the banner of the cross from the altar, delivered it to the king as the token of his engagement. Among the chiefs who followed Conrad's example in taking the cross were his nephew Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Welf of Bavaria, Henry, marquis of Austria, and the chronicler Otho, bishop of Freising, uterine brother of Conrad, and formerly a pupil of Abelard.[t] The Saxons declined the

Dec. 27.

miracles done by Bernard. Cf. Gerhoh. in Patrol. cxciii. 1434; Odo de Deog., ib. clxxxv. 1207; Wilken, iii. 70, note. Bernard's miraculous power, although generally believed in by his contemporaries, was, as we have seen, a subject of satire in Abelard's school (p. 119). Walter Map, who hated the Cistercians, also throws ridicule on Bernard's miracles, and says that he sometimes failed in the attempt to perform them. De Nugis Curialium (Camden Soc.), 41-3. Peter of Cluny strongly maintains the miracles of his own time. Adv. Judæos, c. 4.

[r] Vita, iii. 7; Wilken, iii. 67. "Never," says Fuller (Holy War, 78), "could so much steel have been drawn into the east, had not this good man's persuasions been the loadstone."

[s] Vita, vi. 4.

[t] Ibid.; Otto, de Gestis Frid. i. 39-40; Will. Tyr. xvii. 2.

expedition, on the ground that their duty called them rather to attack their own idolatrous neighbours, and for this purpose they engaged in a home crusade against the pagans on their northern border.[u] But from all other parts of Germany recruits poured in; and Bernard left the abbot of Eberach to take his place in organising the expedition.[x]

Returning home by way of Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cambray, Bernard everywhere produced the greatest effect by his eloquence and his miracles; and he reappeared at Clairvaux with thirty followers, whom, with an equal number of others, he had persuaded to embrace the monastic life.[y] In February 1147 a great meeting was held at Étampes, and Bernard was eagerly listened to as he reported the success of his late journey.[z] On the second day of the meeting, the question of the route which should be taken by the French crusaders was discussed. Letters or envoys had been received by the king from various sovereigns to whom he had announced his expedition. Roger of Sicily advised him to proceed by sea, and offered him a resting-place by the way. Conrad of Germany and Geisa of Hungary, wishing to divert the stream from their own territories, advised that the French should take ship; but Manuel of Constantinople made flattering promises of aid and furtherance; and Lewis, disdaining the doubts which were raised as to the Greek's sincerity, and the representations which were offered as to the difficulties of the way, decided on making the journey by land.[a]

On the following day the question of a regency was proposed. The king left the choice to his nobles and prelates, and Bernard announced that it had fallen on

[u] Otto, 1. 40. See Luden, x. 606; and below, c. xi. sect. 8.

[x] Otto, i. 40.

[y] Vita, vi. 13.

[z] Id. 14.

[a] Odo de Deog. 1207-8; Bouquet, xvi. 9.

the count of Nevers, and Suger, abbot of St. Denys. "Behold," he said, "here are two swords; it is enough." The count, however, declined the office on the ground that he was about to become a Carthusian; and the regency was committed to Suger, with two colleagues whose share in it was little more than nominal.[b]

Eugenius now appeared in France, and was met at Dijon by Lewis, who displayed the greatest reverence towards him.[c] The two celebrated Easter at St. Denys, where the pope overruled Suger's reluctance to undertake the regency.[d] The king took from the altar the *oriflamme*—the banner of the county of the Vexin, which he held under the great abbey—and, as a feudal vassal, received Suger's permission to engage in the crusade, with the pope's blessing on his enterprise.[e] March 1147.

It had been agreed that the forces of France and of Germany should proceed separately, as well for the sake of avoiding quarrels among the soldiers as for greater ease in obtaining provisions.[f] In the spring of 1147, Conrad set out from Ratisbon, after having endeavoured to secure the peace of Germany by the election and coronation of his son Henry as king of the Romans.[g] His force consisted of 70,000 heavy-armed cavalry, with a huge train of lighter horsemen, footmen, women and children; and Lewis was to follow with an equal number.[h] The Germans embarked on rafts and in boats which conveyed them safely down the Danube; but in

[b] Odo de Deog. 1208-9; Sismondi, v. 323-4.

[c] Steph. Paris. ap. Bouquet, xii. 89, 91.

[d] Vita Suger. iii. 1. (Patrol. clxxxvi.)

[e] Odo de Deog. 1219; Sismondi, v. 325. The county of the Vexin was united with the crown of France in 1077, whereby the king became advocate of the abbey of St. Denys, and the saint superseded St. Martin as the patron of the kingdom. See Patrol. clxxxvi. 1461; Suger. de Rebus in Admin. sua Gestis, 4 (ibid.); Hist. Litt. xii. 396; Martin, iii. 285.

[f] Will. Tyr. xvi. 19.

[g] Otto de Gestis Frid. i. 43; Conr. ap. Wibald. Ep. 20 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

[h] Will. Tyr. xvi. 19; Wilken, iii. 94. Gibbon reckons the whole at 400,000. v. 468.

Hungary they were met by envoys from the Greek emperor, who required them to swear that they had no designs against him;[i] and on entering the imperial territory they found difficulties on every side. Manuel is accused by the Latins of treachery,[k] and the Greek Nicetas joins in the charge,[l] while other Greeks charge the crusaders with the blame of the differences which arose.[m] There was plundering by the strangers, and attacks were often made on them by the Greek soldiery. Although markets for provisions had been promised, the Greeks shut themselves up in their towers, and let down their supplies over the walls in buckets; they insisted on being paid beforehand, and it is complained that their provisions were shamefully adulterated, that sometimes they gave nothing in return for the payment, and that in exchanges they cheated the Latins by means of false money which Manuel had coined for the purpose.[n] By a sudden rising of the river Melas in the night, a considerable part of Conrad's force was swept away, with his tents and camp equipage.[o] On reaching Constantinople, the scenes of the first crusade were renewed. The Byzantines were shocked by the rudeness of the Germans, and especially by the sight of women armed and riding in male fashion, "more masculine than Amazons."[p] There were quarrels about markets; the Germans, in indignation at the treatment which they met with, plundered and destroyed many splendid villas near the city; there were irreconcilable and interminable disputes as to matters of precedence and ceremony. Although the two emperors were brothers-in-law,[q] Con-

[i] Cinnamus, ii. 12.

[k] The Würzburg Annals, in Pertz, xvi. are an exception to the usual tone of the Latins. [l] De Manuele, i. 4.

[m] Cinnamus, ii. 13. See Finlay, ii. 202.

[n] Odo de Deog. 1215-16; Nicetas, ii. 4-5; Cinnamus, ii. 14; Wilken, iii. 115-21.

[o] Otto, de Gestis Frid. i. 45, gives a vivid account of this. Cf. Nicet. ii. 5.

[p] Ib. 4.

[q] They had married two daughters of Bernard of Sulzbach.

rad left Constantinople without having seen Manuel, and crossed the Bosphorus with a host which, after all the reduction that it had suffered, was still reckoned to exceed 90,000 men.[r]

In the meantime a force composed of men from Flanders, England, and other northern countries, assembled in the harbour of Dartmouth, and sailed for Portugal, where they wrested Lisbon from the Saracens in October 1147. But it would seem that they were content with their successes in the Spanish peninsula, and did not proceed onwards to join in the attempts to deliver the Holy Land.[s]

The French crusaders assembled at Metz, where a code of laws was drawn up for their conduct in the expedition; but a chronicler declines to record these laws, inasmuch as they were not observed by the nobles who had sworn to them.[t] The host passed through Germany and Hungary without any considerable misfortune, although even from the Hungarian frontier the king found it necessary to write to Suger for a fresh supply of money;[u] and at Constantinople their superior refinement at once made them more acceptable than the Germans, and enabled them better to conceal their dislike and distrust of the Greeks. But the hollowness of the oppressive civilities with which Manuel received Lewis was deeply felt; the Greeks were found to be false and fraudulent in all their dealings; and the exasperation of the crusaders was increased by religious differences, so bitter that the Greek clergy thought it necessary to purify the altars on which the Latins had celebrated, and even

Oct. 4.

[r] Otto, de Gestis Frid. i. 23; Odo de Deog. 1218; Nicetas, i. 5; Cinnamus, ii. 12; Arnold. Lubec. i. 10, ap. Leibnitz, ii.; Finlay, 202-3.

[s] See the letter of a priest named Arnulf, who was in the expedition, Patrol clxxix.; Dodechin, in the Annales S. Disibodi (which, as a whole, have been mistakenly called after his name), Pertz, xvii. 27; Osbern, published by Prof. Stubbs in Memorials of Richard I., i. cxlii. seqq.; Wilken, III. i. c. 12.

[t] Odo de Deog. 1209.

[u] Ap. Sug. Ep. 6. (Patrol. clxxxvi.)

to rebaptize a Latin before allowing him to marry a wife of the Greek communion.[x] The bishop of Langres proposed to seize the city, by way of punishing them for their schism and their perfidy; and but for the eagerness of the crusaders to go onwards, his counsels would probably have been acted on.[y] After reaching the Asiatic shore, Lewis did homage to the eastern emperor; but an eclipse of the sun, which took place on the same day, was interpreted as portending some diminution of the king's splendour.[z]

Lewis had reached Nicæa in safety when he was met by Frederick of Hohenstaufen with tidings of disasters which had befallen the Germans. The main body of these, under Conrad, had intended to march by Iconium, while the rest, under the bishop of Freising, were to take the less direct way by the coast; but, before Conrad and his division had advanced far, it was found that they had miscalculated, and had been deceived by the Greeks, both as to the distance and as to the difficulties of the way.[a] Encumbered as they were by helpless women and children, they advanced but slowly. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and no more were to be procured; the Greek guides who had led them into the desert country, after having deluded them with falsehoods of every kind, deserted them during the night, and returned to deceive the French with romantic fables as to the triumphs of the crusading arms. Squadrons of Turks, lightly armed and mounted on nimble horses, hovered about them, uttering wild cries, and discharging deadly flights of javelins and arrows, while the Europeans, worn out with hunger and toil, loaded with heavy armour, and having lost their horses, were unable to bring them to close

[x] Odo de Deog. 1211, 1217, 1220; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23; Cinnamus, ii. 17; Wilken, iii. 105, 136-49.

[y] Odo de Deog. 1223.

[z] Ib.; Append. ad Odon. 1245-6.

[a] Odo, 1218, 1228; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23; Wilken, iii. 157-9.

combat; and, as they were still within the imperial territory, there was reason to believe that the enemies of the cross had been incited to attack them by the treachery of Manuel.[b] At Nicæa Conrad himself appeared in retreat, with less than a tenth of the force which he had led onwards from that city. The Greeks refused to supply his hungry followers with food, except in exchange for their arms: and most of them returned in miserable condition towards Constantinople, whence a scanty remnant found its way back to Germany.[c] In order that Conrad might not appear without a respectable force, Lewis ordered the Lorrainers, Burgundians, and Italians, who were feudally subject to the empire, to attach themselves to him; and, having resolved to proceed by the longer but less hazardous road, the army reached Ephesus. But quarrels had arisen between the nations of which it was composed;[d] a coolness took place between the two leaders; and Conrad, under pretext of illness, gladly accepted an invitation from his imperial brother-in-law, and returned to winter at Constantinople.[e]

After having spent Christmas at Ephesus, Lewis directed his march towards Attalia (Satalia). The

[b] Odo, 1230-2; Will. Tyr. xvi. 19-22: Annal. Reichersperg. in Pertz, xvii. 462; Ludov. ap. Suger. Ep. 39; Sismondi, v. 335-6.

[c] Odo, 1230; Annales Herbipol. in Pertz, xvi. 7; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23.

[d] Cinnamus, ii. 18; comp. Odo, 1216. Cinnamus tells us that the French used to jeer the Germans by saying, πούτζη Ἀλαμάνε. Ducange (n. in loc.) supposes this to mean "Pousse Allemand!" and to refer to the slowness of the Germans; Wilken thinks that the meaning is "Fusse, Alamann!" and that it relates to a German custom of dismounting in battle and fighting on foot (iii. 175). Perhaps we need not seek a meaning, but may identify the expression with one which Walter Map writes "Tpwrut Aleman!" and describes as the most grievous insult that could be offered to a German, on account of which "multæ frequenter inter eos et alios rixæ fiunt." (De Nugis Curialium, 219.) John of Montreuil (in the 15th century) speaks of a king of France as having answered a communication from an emperor by the words, "Proht Alemant!" (Martene, Coll. Ampl. ii. 1406). Perhaps the Greek ο is a mistake for ρ.

[e] Odo, 1228-32; Conrad, ap. Wibald. Epp. 31, 80; Cinnam. ii. 18-19; Will. Tyr. xvi. 23; Annal. Herbipol. 6-7: Wilken, iii. 169-74.

crusaders crossed the Mæander, after a victory over a Turkish force which opposed their passage.[f] But as they advanced they found themselves unable to obtain food, and the treachery of the Greeks became continually more manifest. In a narrow defile, where the van and the rear had been accidentally separated, the army was attacked, and suffered heavy loss both in slain and in prisoners; the king's own life was in great danger.[g] The survivors continued their march in gloomy apprehension, and dangers seemed to thicken around them. In their extremity, it was proposed by Lewis that a brotherhood of five hundred horsemen should be formed for the protection of the rest. A knight named Gilbert, of whom nothing is known except the skill and valour which he displayed on this occasion, was chosen as its head, and even the king himself served as a member of the band. By Gilbert's generalship, two rivers were successfully crossed in the face of the enemy, who were afterwards attacked and routed with great slaughter; and, although the crusaders were in such distress for provisions that they were obliged to eat most of their horses, they reached Attalia on the fifteenth day of their march from Ephesus.[h]

From Attalia Lewis embarked for Syria, by advice of his counsellors, taking with him part of the force, and having, as he thought, secured a safe advance for the rest under the protection of an escort. But the Greeks who had been hired for this purpose abandoned them; and the crusaders, after having fought bravely against an assailing force of Turks, were driven to fall back on Attalia. There, however, the inhabitants who, during the king's stay in the city, had used every kind of extor-

[f] Nicetas in Manuel. i. 6 (who, however, wrongly ascribes the victory to Conrad); Odo, 1235.

[g] Ib. 1238; Will. Tyr. xvi. 25.

[h] Odo, 1238-40; Will. Tyr. xvi. 26; Wilken, iii. 185-6.

tion against the Franks,[i] shut the gates on them, and they found themselves obliged to crouch under the walls, hungry and almost naked, while violent storms of wind and rain increased their misery. At length, in utter desperation, they attempted again to march onward. But the Turks surrounded them in overpowering numbers, and the whole remnant of the unhappy force was cut off, with the exception of three thousand, who surrendered themselves into slavery. Some of them apostatized, although their masters did not put any force on them as to religion.[k]

Lewis landed at the mouth of the Orontes, and proceeded to Antioch, where he was received by his wife's uncle, prince Raymond; but he declined the prince's invitation to join in an expedition against Noureddin, and continued his way to Jerusalem, where he arrived towards the end of June, in a guise befitting a penitential pilgrim rather than a warrior who had set out at the head of a powerful army, and with an assured hope of victory and conquest.[l] In July, a meeting of the Frank chiefs, both lay and ecclesiastical, was held at Acre, and among those present was Conrad, who, after having been hospitably entertained at Constantinople through the winter, had reached Jerusalem at Easter, with a very few soldiers in his train.[m] An expedition against Damascus was resolved on, and the siege of that city was begun with good hope of success. But jealousies arose among the Franks, and some of them —it is said the Templars—were bribed by the enemy's gold, so that the expedition was defeated.[n] Sick in

[i] "Hæc enim," says Odo of Deuil, "nostra fuit cum Græcis conditio, vendere sine pretio et chare emere sine modo." 1242.

[k] Ib. 1240-4; Wilken, i. 192-3.

[l] Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 58; Will. Tyr. xvi. 27; Wilken, iii. 225-35.

[m] Otto Fris. l. c.; Will. Tyr. xvi. 28; xvii. 1; Sismondi, v. 349-53.

[n] Conr. ap. Wibald. Ep. 127; Will. Tyr. xvi. 2-6; Annal. Herbip. ap. Pertz, xvi. 7; Wilken, iii. 235-52; Michaud, iii. 137.

body, depressed in mind, and utterly disgusted with the Christians of the Holy Land, Conrad embarked for Constantinople in September, and thence, by way of Greece and Istria, made his way to Ratisbon, where he arrived in Whitsun week 1149.[o] Lewis, ashamed and penitent, lingered in the Holy Land until July of that year, when, yielding at length to Suger's earnest solicitations,[p] he took ship for Sicily—his queen following separately.[q] In passing through Italy he had an interview with the pope,[r] and he soon after reached his own dominions. But of the vast numbers which had accompanied him towards the East, it is said that not so many as three hundred returned.

The miserable and shameful result of this expedition, which, while it had drained Europe of men and treasure, had only rendered the condition of the Christians in the Holy Land worse than before,[s] excited loud murmurs against Bernard, as the man by whose preaching, prophecies, and miracles, it had been chiefly promoted; and all his authority was needed in order to justify himself. We are told that, when the dismal tidings from the East were filling all France with sorrow and anger, a blind boy was brought to him for cure. The abbot prayed that, if his preaching had been right, he might be enabled to work the miracle; and this attestation of his truth was granted.[t] He referred to his earlier miracles as certain

[o] Wibald, Epp. 162, 177-8; Eugen. Ep. 354 (Patrol. clxxx.); Will. Tyr. xvii. 8; Cinnamus, ii. 19; Luden, x. 279.

[p] Sug. Ep. 57; Vita Suger. iii. 6 (Patrol. clxxxvi.).

[q] Some writers (as Cinnamus, ii. 19, the author of the Hist. Pontif., c. 28, the Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert, A.D. 1149, and William of Nangis, A.D. 1150, followed by Muratori, Annal. VI., ii. 297, Gibbon, v. 361, and Wilken, iii. 256) say that Lewis was taken, or all but taken, by Greeks, and was delivered by the Sicilian fleet. But this seems inconsistent with his own letters, in Suger, Epp. 94-6. (Sismondi, iii. 355. Cf. Eugen. Ep. 357.) Romuald of Salerno, although he relates that Conrad was received with great honour by Roger, says nothing of his deliverance from the Greeks. Murat. vii. 192.

[r] Ludov. ap. Suger, Ep. 96.

[s] Will. Tyr. xvi. 19.

[t] Vita, iii. 10.

signs that his preaching of the crusade had been sanctioned by Heaven; he declared himself willing to bear any blame rather than that it should be cast on God.[u] He regarded the failure of the expedition as a fit chastisement for the sins of the crusaders; and an Italian abbot assured him that St. John and St. Paul had appeared in a vision, declaring that the number of the fallen angels had been restored from the souls of those who had died in the crusade.[x]

During the absence of Lewis in the East, his kingdom had been successfully administered by Suger. Suger was born of humble parents in 1081, and at an early age entered the monastery of St. Denys, where he became the companion of Lewis VI. in his education, and so laid the foundation of his political eminence.[y] His election as abbot in 1122 was at first opposed by Lewis, because the royal permission had not been previously asked;[z] but this difficulty was overcome, and Suger became the king's confidential adviser. In the midst of the political employments which continually increased on him, notwithstanding his endeavours to withdraw from them, he performed his monastic duties with the most scrupulous attention.[a] He reformed the disorders which Abelard had censured[b] among the monks of the abbey; he skilfully improved its finances, and extended its property; he rebuilt the church and furnished it magnificently.[c] In

[u] De Consideratione, ii. 1.

[x] Joh. Casæ-Marii, ap. Bern. Ep. 386; Bern. Ep. 289; Vita, iii. 9-11; Mabill. Annal. Bened. vi. 418. See Fuller's quaint vindication of Bernard (Holy War, 82-3); and for the causes of the failure, Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 60; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1147; Hoveden, 276, b.; Annal. Herbipol. in Pertz, xvi. 3; Walt. Hemingburg, i. 72; Chron. Andrense, ap. Dacher. ii. 808; Henr. Huntingd., Patrol. cxcv. 970-1; Vincent. Pragens. in Pertz, xvii. 663.

[y] Vita Sugerii, by William of St. Denys, in Patrol. clxxxvi.; Hist. Litt. xii. 361-2.

[z] Suger. Vita Lud. Grossi, Patrol. clxxxvi. 1315.

[a] Vita, i. 4-5. [b] See p. 107.

[c] Vita, ii. 6-10; Suger, De Rebus in administratione sua gestis (perhaps a work of his biographer, William) 24, seqq.; Libellus de Consecr. Ecclesiæ; Bernard. Ep. 78, c. 4; Mabill Ann. Bened. vi. 347.

his own person he had always been rigidly monastic; and although it is supposed that he was the abbot whom Bernard censures for going about with upwards of sixty horses, and a train more than sufficient for two bishops,[d] he afterwards reformed his pomp, and received Bernard's warm congratulations on the change.[e] Under Lewis VII. Suger's influence became greater than ever. While left as regent of the kingdom, he employed not only his secular authority, but the censures of the church, which the pope authorized him to wield,[f] in checking the violent and lawless tendencies of such nobles as had remained in France. He defeated the attempts of Robert of Dreux, who had returned from the crusade before his brother Lewis, to supplant the absent king, and he exerted himself diligently to raise and transmit the supplies of money for which Lewis was continually importuning him by letters.[g] When the unhappy expedition was projected, Suger had opposed the general enthusiasm for it. But after its failure, the tidings which arrived from the East stirred him with new feelings. Raymond of Antioch had been slain, and other chiefs were taken prisoners. Jerusalem itself was threatened by the infidels, while within its walls a bitter contest for power was raging between the young king Baldwin III. and his mother Melisenda. It seemed as if the Latins were about to be swept from the Holy Land. Suger was excited to attempt to raise a fresh crusade, which Bernard advocated with his old enthusiasm. Meetings for the purpose were held at Laon and at Chartres; but both nobles and bishops received the project with coldness, and when it was proposed that Bernard himself

A.D. 1150.

[d] Apologia, 11. Pontius of Cluny is described as having a hundred mules in his train. Joh. Iperius, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 608.

[e] Bern Ep. 78. Cf. Ep. 309; Mabill. Ann. Bened. vi. 172.

[f] See Eugen. Epp. 229, 355-7.

[g] Vita Suger. iii. 1, 6; Lud. ap. Suger. Epp. 6, 21, 29, 50, 52 58, etc.

should go to Jerusalem, in order to provoke others to emulation, the Cistercians refused to allow him.[h] Suger, however, resolved to devote to this purpose the treasures with which St. Denys had been enriched by his administration. He sent large sums of money to the East, and intended to follow with a force of his own raising.[i] But his death in 1151 [k] put an end to the projected expedition.

It has been mentioned that the queen of the French accompanied her husband to the crusade, and that she returned in a separate vessel. Eleanor's haughty and unbending character was ill suited to that of Lewis, and she scornfully declared that she had married, not a king, but a monk.[l] Differences had broken out between them at Antioch, and had been fomented by her uncle Raymond, who was provoked by the king's refusal to assist him in his designs against Aleppo. She is charged with infidelity to her husband, whom it is even said that she had intended to desert for the embraces of an infidel chief.[m] The marriage was open to a canonical objection, of which Bernard had spoken strongly during the quarrel between the king and the church;[n] and although the pope had overruled this objection, it was now brought before a council at Beaugency, which pronounced for a separation on the ground of consanguinity.[o] Immediately after, Eleanor entered into

A.D. 1152.

[h] W. de Nangis, A.D. 1151.

[i] Sug. Epp. 133-5, 155, 166; Eugen. III. Epp. 382, 390; Vita Sug. iii. 8; Bern. Ep. 256; Hist. Litt. xiii. 143; Wilken, III. i. 279; Michaud, iii. 149.

[k] Patrol. clxxxvi. 1208; Testam. Suger., ib. 1439, seqq.; Hist. Litt. xiii. 373.

[l] W. Neubrig. i. 31.

[m] Gervas. Dorobern. ap. Twysden, 1371; Suger. Ep. 57, fin.; Hist. Pontif. ap. Pertz, xx. 534; Bernard Guid. ap. Bouquet, xii. 231; Fragm. ib. 286; Hist. Franc. ib. 117, 220; Chron. Anon. ib. 220; Will. Tyr. xvi. 27; Will. Nang. A.D. 1149; Wilken, iii. 228.

[n] Ep. 124, c. 4. The Anchin continuation of Sigebert says that Lewis divorced his wife by Bernard's advice. Patrol. clx. 294. Prof. Stubbs thinks that Eleanor desired the separation, and that hence arose the notion of her infidelity. Introd. to Walt. Coventr. ii. p. xxix.

[o] Hist. Ludov. VII., ap. Bouq. xii. 127; Hist. Pontif. in Pertz, xx 537. See Pagi, xix. 53. For the relationship, see Bouq. xii. 117.

a second marriage with Henry, duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, and afterwards king of England, who thus became master of her extensive territories; and, by this marriage, the foundation was laid for a life-long jealousy and rivalry between Lewis and the great vassal whose territory in France exceeded the king's own.[p]

The presence of the pope, and the good understanding between him and Suger, had contributed greatly to the preservation of peace in France during the crusade; and by corresponding with the archbishop of Mentz, and Wibald, abbot of Stablo, whom Conrad had left as guardians of his son, Eugenius conferred a like benefit on Germany.[q] In November 1147 he was induced by an invitation from Albero, archbishop of Treves, to visit that city, where he remained nearly three months.[r] Among the matters there brought before him were the prophecies of Hildegard, head of a monastic sisterhood at St. Disibod's, in the diocese of Mentz. Hildegard, born in 1098, had from her childhood been subject to fits of ecstasy, in which it is said that, although ignorant of Latin, she uttered her oracles in that language; and these oracles were eagerly heard, recorded, and preserved.[s] With the power of prophecy she was believed to possess that of miracles;[t] she was consulted on all manner of subjects, and among her correspondents were emperors, kings, and popes. Her tone in addressing the highest ecclesiastical personages is that of a prophetess far superior to them,[u] and she denounces the

[p] Ricard. Pictav. ap. Bouq. xii. 417. Suger's biographer ascribes the loss of Aquitaine to the abbot's death (i. 5). As to the feeling with which Lewis regarded Henry's power, see Mapes de Nugis Curialium, 215.

[q] Luden, x. 257.

[r] Gesta Alberonis, 23 (Patrol. cliv.).

[s] Hildegard's letters, visions, etc., are in the Patrol. cxcvii. As to the manner of her visions, see Præf. ad Scivias, 383-6. Cf. Vit. S. Hildeg. 2, 5, 6, 14 (ib.); Acta S. Hildeg. ib. 20; Rob. Antissiod. in Bouquet, xii. 294; Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 199; Neand. vii. 301-4, 357, seqq.; Döllinger on the Prophetic Spirit, transl. by Plummer, p. 86.

[t] Vita, iii. 1.

[u] *E.g.*, Epp. 2, 22.

corruptions of the monks and clergy in a strain[x] which has made her a favourite with the fiercest opponents of the papal church.[y] Bernard, when in Germany, had been interested by Hildegard's character,[z] and at his instance the pope now examined her prophecies, bestowed on her his approval, and sanctioned her design of building a convent in a spot which had been marked out by a vision, on St. Rupert's Hill, near Bingen.[a]

From Treves Eugenius proceeded to Reims, where, on the 21st of March 1148, a great council met under his presidency. This council is connected with English history, not only by the circumstance that Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, attended it in defiance of a prohibition from king Stephen[b] (for whom, however, he charitably obtained a respite when the pope was about to pronounce a sentence of excommunication), but because among the matters which came before it was a contest for the see of York between William, a nephew of the king, and Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains. In this question, Bernard, influenced by partiality for Henry, as a member of his order and formerly his pupil, took a part which is universally acknowledged to have been wrong; for William had been elected by a majority of votes,[c] and had been consecrated by his uncle, Henry, bishop of Winchester. The affair had already been discussed at Paris in 1147, and was now, through Ber-

[x] *E.g.*, Ep. 52.

[y] Such as Flacius Illyricus, 'Catal. Testium,' 1487, ed. 1608; and Fox, 'Acts and Mon.,' i. 294-5, ed. 1684. Fuller has an account of her in his 'Holy State,' b. i. c. 13. She condemns excessive asceticism. Epp. 98, 105.

[z] Hild. Ep. 29. Her letter to Bernard is said to be the only one of her letters which contains no reproof. Acta, 29.

[a] Eugen. ap. Hild. Ep. 1; Acta Hild. 26, 28-9; Vita, 5; Alb. Stadensis in Pertz, xvi. 330.

[b] Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1364; Hist. Pontificalis, in Pertz, xx. 519.

[c] It was objected to him that he had been nominated by the king before being canonically chosen. Angl. Sacr. i. 71.

nard's influence, decided by the pope against William, who was excommunicated ;[d] but he found a refuge with the bishop of Winchester, until, after the death of his rival, he was again elected to York, and, with the sanction of Anastasius IV., resumed possession of the see in 1154. His return was, however, opposed by some of his clergy, and his death, which took place in the same year, is said to have been caused by poison administered in the eucharistic chalice.[e] William's sanctity was attested by miracles at his tomb,[f] and in the next century the archbishop whom Bernard had branded as a simoniac, and whom Eugenius, at Bernard's dictation, had deposed, was canonized by Nicholas III.[g]

Another question which came before the council at Reims related to the opinions of Gilbert de la Porrée, who, after having been long famous as a teacher, had been raised in 1141 to the bishoprick of Poitiers. Gilbert was, like Abelard, one of those theologians who paid less than the usual reverence to the traditions of former times. Otho of Freising, his pupil and admirer, tells us that his subtlety and acuteness led him to depart in many things from the customary way of speaking, although his respect for authority was greater than Abelard's, and his character

[d] Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 265; Joh. Hagustald. in Twysden, 260, 268, 272, 275-6; Stubbs, ib. 1721; Collier, ii. 240; Inett, ii. 189; Raine, Lives of Abps. of York, i. 216, 224. Bernard is very violent against William (Epp. 235-6, 239, 240, 252, 346-7, 353, 360), and is supposed to allude to him in 'De Consideratione,' iii. 13—"Quid ille de transmarinis partibus," etc. Baronius, after much abuse of him, retracts on finding that he had been canonized as a saint. 1140. 15, seqq. Cf. Pagi, in loc.

[e] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1154 (Patrol. clx.); Wendover, ii. 272; Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1154; Hoved. in Savile, 281; Stubbs, in Twysden, 1722; Godwin, 672. Alberic of Trois Fontaines (in Bouquet, xiii. 698) says that he refused an antidote, out of reverence for the sacrament. See Joh. Sarisb. Epp. 108, 122. Baronius (1141. 15) and Alban Butler (June 8) make the best they can of the story; Cf. Acta SS., Jun. 8. William of Newburgh declares it to be a vulgar fiction, and brings evidence against it, i. 20.

[f] Alberic. in Bouquet, xiii. 698.

[g] The canonization had been before attempted under Honorius III., and is said to have been at last promoted by the money of Antony Beck, bishop of Durham. See Raine, i. 227.

was free from the vanity and the levity which had contributed so largely to Abelard's misfortunes.[h]

Gilbert had been present at the council of Sens in 1140, and it is said that Abelard, after having heard himself condemned, turned to the theologian of Poitiers, and warned him in a well-known verse of Horace that his turn of persecution would come next.[i] The pope, when on his way to France, was met at Siena by two archdeacons of Gilbert's diocese, who presented a complaint against their bishop; but when he attempted to investigate the charge at the council of Paris in 1147, Gilbert was saved from condemnation by the obscurity of the subject to which his alleged errors related, and by his own dialectical acuteness.[k] The inquiry was adjourned to a greater assembly, but the difficulties which had baffled the council of Paris were equally felt at Reims. The chief errors imputed to Gilbert related to the doctrine of the Godhead. He was charged with denying that the Divine essence is God,[l] and consequently with denying that it could have been incarnate; with holding that God is pure Being, without any attributes,

[h] De Gestis Frid. i. 46, 50. There is much on the affair of G. de la Porrée in the 'Historia Pontificalis,' published for the first time by Pertz (Scriptores, xx.) since the first edition of this volume. The writer speaks of Gilbert as perhaps unequalled among his contemporaries for the extent of his learning; as familiar with writings of fathers which were seldom read, so that many things which in him seemed to be profane novelties became afterwards common in the schools (522). For the contrast of Gilbert with Bernard, see p. 526. Radevic says that Otho of Freising, when dying at the Cistercian abbey of Morimond, begged the monks, if there were anything as to Gilbert which could give offence in his writings, to correct it, "ad ipsorum arbitrium." (ii. 11.) In Martene's 'Collectio Amplissima,' i. 839, is a letter of Walter of Mortagne against an alleged opinion of Gilbert, that abbots and abbesses might marry notwithstanding their vows.

[i] "Tunc [Nam] tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet."—(*Hor. Ep.* I. xviii. 84.) Vita Bern. iii. 15.

[k] Otto Fris. de G. Frid. i. 46, 51-4.

[l] This denial is said to have been in his Commentary on Boëthius, 'De Trinitate,' where, on the words "Substantia *qua* Deus est," Gilbert had drawn the distinction, "non *quæ* Deus" (Otto Fris. i. 56). The passages seem to be in Boëth. c. iv., and the commentary on it, Patrol. lxiv. 1253 B, 1290 B. See Hefele, v. 447.

although including in his perfect Being all that we conceive of as His attributes:[m] and to this it was added that he denied the efficacy of the Sacraments—maintaining that none were really baptized but such as should eventually be saved.[n] Gilbert defended himself at great length, and cited many passages from the fathers in behalf of his opinions. "Brother," said the pope at last, "you say and read a great many things which perhaps we do not understand; but tell us plainly whether you own that supreme essence by which the three Persons are God to be itself God." Gilbert, wearied with the disputation, hastily answered "No," and his answer was recorded, after which the council adjourned.[o] On the following day, Gilbert, who in the meantime had held much earnest conference with such of the cardinals as favoured him, endeavoured by distinctions and explanations to do away with the effect of his hasty reply. Bernard, in speaking against him, made use of some words which gave offence to the cardinals—"Let that, too, be written down," said Gilbert. "Yes," cried the abbot, "let it be written down with an iron pen, and with a nail of adamant!"[p] As Gilbert's party among the cardinals was strong, Bernard endeavoured to counteract their influence by assembling a number of French prelates and other ecclesiastics, and producing at the council a set of propositions on which these had agreed in opposition to the errors imputed to the bishop of Poitiers. On this, the jealousy of the cardinals, who had long been impatient of his ascendency over Eugenius, burst forth. They denounced the French clergy as

[m] See Ritter, vii. 444, 451-2.

[n] Otto Fris. i. 50. Ritter thinks that Gilbert was orthodox, but that his obscure language gave fair cause for suspicion (vii. 439). M. Hauréau speaks highly of him (c. xi.).

[o] Otto Fris. i. 56. See Bern. in Cantica, lxxx. 8 (Patrol. clxxxiii.); Mabill. Præf. in Bern., ib. clxxxii. 44, seqq.; ib. clxxxv. 587, seqq.; Argentré, i. 38, seqq.

[p] "Ungue adamantino."

attempting to impose a new creed—a thing, they said, which all the patriarchs of Christendom could not presume to do without the authority of Rome; they loudly blamed the pope for preferring the French church to the Roman—for preferring his private friendships before the advice of those legitimate counsellors to whom he owed his elevation. Eugenius, unwilling to offend either party, desired Bernard to make peace; whereupon Bernard declared that he and his friends had not intended to claim any undue authority for their paper; but that, as Gilbert had demanded a written statement of his belief, he had desired to fortify himself by the consent of the French bishops.[q] Gilbert was at length allowed to depart unharmed, on professing his agreement with the faith of the council and of the Roman church; he was reconciled with his archdeacons, by whom the charges had been brought against him; and his friends represented the result of the inquiry as a triumph.[r]

Eugenius was now able, by the assistance of the Sicilian king, to return to Rome, where he arrived in November 1149, and he requested Bernard, as their personal intercourse could no longer be continued, to draw up some admonitions for his benefit.[s] The result was a remarkable treatise "On Consideration,"[t] which shows how far Bernard's reverence for the papacy was

[q] Otto Fris. i. 56-7, or Hard. vi. 1299; Vita Bern. iii. 15.

[r] Gaufrid. Claræval., Patrol. clxxxv. 582; Hist. Pontif. 526; Otto de S. Blasio, 4 (ap. Urstis.); see Gieseler, II. ii. 401. Otho of Freising declines judging "utrum abbas Claræ vallensis in hoc negotio ex humanæ infirmitatis fragilitate tanquam homo deceptus fuerit, vel episcopus tanquam vir litteratus propositum astute celando ecclesiæ judicium evaserit." (i. 57.) A theologian of Paris—perhaps the famous Walter of St. Victor (see Hist. Litt. xiii. 550)—wrote to Hildegard on the question of Gilbert's opinions, and she received a revelation condemning them. Ep. 127 (Patrol. cxcvii.).

[s] Bern. de Consid., Prolog.

[t] *Consideration* is thus distinguished by Bernard from *contemplation*—"Potest contemplatio quidem definiri, verus certusque intuitus animi de quacunque re, sive apprehensio veri non dubia; consideratio autem, intensa ad investigandum cogitatio vel intentio animi investigantis verum." ii. 2.

from implying an admiration of the actual system of Rome, and how nearly in some respects the views of the highest hierarchical churchmen agreed with those of such reformers as Arnold of Brescia.[a] With professions of deep humility and deference, the abbot writes as if the pope were still a monk of Clairvaux. The great object of the book is to exhort Eugenius to the spiritual duties of his office, and to warn him against the dangers of secularity. Bernard complains of the manifold business in which popes were engaged; of their employment in hearing of suits which were rather secular than ecclesiastical, and fell rather under the laws of Justinian than under those of the Saviour. These engagements, he says, were so engrossing as to allow no time for consideration;[x] and the pope is advised to extricate himself from them as far as possible by devolving some part of his jurisdiction on others, by cutting short the speeches and the artifices of lawyers, and by discouraging the practice of too readily appealing to Rome.[y] There is much of earnest warning against pride and love of rule;[z] Bernard declares that the pomp of the papacy is copied, not from St. Peter, but from Constantine;[a] that the Roman church ought not to be the mistress of other churches, but their mother; that the pope is not the lord, but the brother, of other bishops.[b] He denounces the frequent exemption of abbots from the authority of bishops, and of bishops from the authority of their archbishops;[c] the greed, the venality, the assumption of the papal court;[d] he desires Eugenius to be careful in the choice of his officials and confidants, to avoid all acceptance of persons—(as to money, he acknowledges the

[a] See Lechler, i. 69. Luther, in a letter to Leo X., prefixed to his tract, 'De Libertate Christiana,' speaks of this book as "omni pontifici memoriter noscendus." Opera, ii. 3, ed. Viteberg. 1562.

[x] De Consid. i 1-5.

[y] Ib. i. 10-12; iii. 2.

[z] Ib. ii.; iii. 1.

[a] Ib. iv. 6.

[b] Ib. 7.

[c] Ib. iii. 4.

[d] Ib. iv. 1, 2, 4.

pope's utter indifference)—and to advance resolutely, although gradually, towards a reformation of the prevailing abuses.[e] There is no reason to doubt that this treatise was received by Eugenius with the respect which he always paid to Bernard; but the abuses which it denounced were too strong and too inveterate to be cured by the good intentions of any pope. In it, however, the great saint of Clairvaux, by the unreserved plainness of his language and by the weight of his authority, had supplied a weapon which from age to age was continually employed by those who desired to reform the church and the court of Rome.[f]

Although Eugenius was received by the Romans with submission to his spiritual authority, his temporal claims were not admitted, and after a few months he was again compelled to leave the city. In the hope of aid against the rebels, he entreated Conrad to come to Italy and receive the imperial crown, while the Romans requested the king to take part with them against the clergy, and Manuel of Constantinople urged the fulfilment of an agreement which had been made as Conrad was returning from the East, for a joint expedition against the pope's Sicilian allies.[g] To each party Conrad replied that he was preparing for an Italian expedition, and he assured the pope that no evil was intended against the Roman church.[h] But in the midst of his preparations he was seized by an illness, which carried him off in February 1152.[i] In the end of that year, Eugenius, whose bounty and mildness had done much to conciliate the Romans, was allowed to return to his capital; but

[e] De Consid. i. 9; ii. 14 iv. 4.

[f] Schröckh, xxvi. 147. See Bernard's remonstrances as to a legate in 1152, Ep. 290.

[g] Eugen. Epp. 395, 484 (Patrol. clxxx.); Wibald, Epp. 187-8, 224 (ib. clxxxix.); Hist. Pontif. c. 27; Luden, x. 266-8. See Gregorov. iv. 475-6. To this time some refer the Roman letters in Wibald, 211-13. See above, p. 126.

[h] Wibald, Epp. 218, 225, 320, 322-4; Pertz, Leges, ii. 87-9.

[i] Raumer, i. 354.

he survived little more than six months, dying on the 8th of July 1153.[k] And on the 20th of August in that year Bernard died at Clairvaux—"ascending," says a chronicler of the time, "from the Bright Valley to the mountain of eternal brightness."[l]

Henry, king of the Romans, had died about a year and a half before his father; and, although Conrad still had a son surviving, his feeling for the public good induced him to choose an heir of maturer age, his nephew Frederick, son of that Frederick of Hohenstaufen who had been Lothair's competitor for the empire.[m] A week after his uncle's death, Frederick was elected at Frankfort, and five days later he received the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from Arnold, archbishop of Cologne.[n] On the very day of his coronation the stern determination of his character was remarkably displayed. In the minster, where the ceremony took place, one of his officers, who had been dismissed for misconduct, threw himself at his feet, in the hope that the circumstances of the day might secure his pardon. But Frederick declared that, as he had disgraced the man not out of hatred but for justice sake, neither the festive occasion nor the intercessions of the princes who were present could be allowed to reverse the sentence.[o] Frederick, who was now thirty-one years of age, had distinguished

[k] Jaffé, 647-52; Schröckh, xxvi. 149.

[l] Rob. Antissiod. ap. Bouquet, xii. 295; Vita Bern. v. 10-13. He had done miracles on his death-bed, and continued to do them after death, until the abbot of Cîteaux, like Abbot Hildulf in an earlier time (see vol. iii. p. 244), charged him for the sake of the brotherhood to desist. (Vita, v. 14; vii. 59.) He was buried privately, in order to avoid an inconvenient concourse, and by his own desire, some relics of St. Thaddeus, which had been lately brought from Jerusalem, were laid on his breast. (v. 14-15.) He was canonized by Alexander III. in 1174 (Patrol. clxxxv. 622); and in 1830 Pius VIII. confirmed to him the title of *Doctor* (ib. 1543-8).

[m] Otto Fris. de Gestis Frid. i. 63; Chron. Ursperg. 213; Gunther, i. 324, seqq. (Patrol. ccxii.); Luden, x. 295.

[n] Frid. ad Eugen. (Patrol. clxxx. 1637).

[o] Otto Fris. ii. 3; Gunther, i. 450-80.

himself in the late crusade; he was a prince of extraordinary ability and indomitable perseverance, filled with a high sense of the dignity to which he had been elevated, and with a firm resolution to maintain its rights according to the model of Charlemagne.[p] Yet, although his struggle for the assertion of the imperial privileges was to be chiefly against the hierarchy, he appears to have been sincere in his profession of reverence for the church, and not immoderate in his conception of the relations between the secular and the ecclesiastical powers.[q] Descended as he was from the houses of both Welf and Waiblingen, the feud of those houses was dormant throughout his reign, although it afterwards revived, when the names became significant of the papal and the imperial parties respectively.[r]

In the very beginning of his reign, Frederick was drawn into a collision with the papacy with regard to the see of Magdeburg. Some of the clergy had wished to elect the dean as archbishop, while others were for the provost; but Frederick persuaded the dean and his partisans to accept Wichmann, bishop of Zeitz, as their candidate, and, by the power which the Worms concordat had allowed to the sovereign in cases of disputed elections, he decided for Wichmann, and invested him with the regalia.[s] The provost on this carried a complaint to Eugenius, who, in letters to the chapter of Magdeburg and to the German bishops, ordered that Wichmann should not be acknowledged as archbishop; it is, however, remarkable that he rested his prohibition on the canons which forbade translation except for great causes (such as, he said, did not exist in this case), but did not

[p] Wilbald. Ep. 344; Raumer, ii. 3; Milman, iii. 411.

[q] Ep. ad Eugen. 23; cf. Eugen. Ep. 504. John of Salisbury takes a strongly prejudiced view of Frederick's first communication with the pope. Ep. 59, Patrol. cxcix. 39.

[r] Otto Fris. ii. 2.

[s] Ib. 6; Schmidt, ii. 579.

hint as yet that the translation of bishops was a matter reserved to the Roman see.[t] Frederick continued firm in the assertion of his pretensions, against both Eugenius and his successor, Anastasius IV. A legate whom Anastasius sent into Germany for the settlement of the question found himself resisted in his assumptions, and was obliged to return without having effected anything; and Wichmann, whom Frederick soon after sent to Rome, received from Anastasius the confirmation of his election, with the archiepiscopal pall. By the result of this affair Frederick's authority was strengthened in proportion to the loudness with which the Roman court had before declared itself resolved to abate nothing of its pretensions.[u]

The long absence of the emperors from Italy had encouraged the people of that country, which was continually advancing in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, in wealth and in population, to forget their allegiance to the imperial crown. The feudatories came to regard themselves as independent; the cities set up republican governments of their own, under consuls who were annually elected,[x] and the right of investing these magistrates was the only shadow which the bishops were allowed to retain of their ancient secular power. The cities were engaged in constant feuds with each other, and each subdued the nobles of its neighbourhood, whom the citizens in some cases even compelled to reside within the city walls for a certain portion of the year.[y]

Frederick was resolved to reassert the imperial rights,

[t] Eugen. Epp. 522-3, or Otto Fris. ii. 8; Schmidt, ii. 580.

[u] Otto Fris. ii. 10.

[x] The number of consuls varied from two to sixty. Murat. Antiq. iv. 49, seqq.; Savigny, iv. 116; Raumer, v. 90, 105-6.

[y] Frid. ap. Urstis. i. 403; Otto Fris. ii. 12; Gunther. ii. 141, seqq.; Savigny, iii. 114, seqq.; Schmidt, ii. 582-3. The marquis of Montferrat was almost the only noble of North Italy who preserved his independence. (Otto Fris. ii. 12.) The feelings of the citizens towards such nobles are expressed by a Genoese annalist—"Mos est marchionum magis velle rapere quam juste vivere." Murat. vi. 265.

and applications from various quarters concurred with his own inclination in urging on him an expedition into Italy. With the Greek emperor he formed a scheme of combination against the Sicilian Normans;[z] and while Eugenius entreated his aid against the republican and Arnoldist faction, which the pope represented as intending to set up an emperor of its own,[a] another writer addressed him on the part of the Romans, assuring him that the story of Constantine's donation had now lost all credit even among the meanest of the people, and that the pope with his cardinals did not venture to appear in public.[b] At his first German diet, in 1152, Frederick proposed an expedition into Italy, for which he required the princes to be ready within two years; and in October 1154 he entered Lombardy by way of Trent, at the head of the most splendid army that had ever crossed the Alps.[c] A great assembly was summoned to the plains of Roncaglia, the place in which the German kings, on their way to receive the imperial crown, had been accustomed to meet their Italian subjects.[d] The vassals who failed to appear—among them, some ecclesiastics—were declared to have forfeited their fiefs.[e] The mutual complaints of the Italian cities were heard, and severe sentences were pronounced against those who were found guilty, especially against the powerful and turbulent Milanese, who had treated Frederick's admonitions with contempt, and had now added to their offences by offering to bribe him into sanctioning their tyranny over their neighbours.[f] Tortona, which had shown itself

Dec. 4-9.

[z] Wibald, Epp. 387-8 (Patrol. clxxxix.). [a] Eug. Epp. 504, 524.

[b] This letter is from one Wetzel, ap. Wibald. Ep. 384. His reasons against the donation are certainly not well chosen.

[c] Otto Fris. ii. 7, 11; Gunth. i. 634, seqq.; Raumer, ii. 12.

[d] Otto Fris. ii. 12; Gunth. ii. 10; Otto Morena in Murat. vi. 977. See Giesebr. ii. 513; iii. 804.

[e] Gunth. ii. 14.

[f] Otto Fris. ii. 12-13; Otto Morena, 976-8, 980-1; Chron. Ursperg. 217-18; Gunth. ii. 232, seqq.; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 304-10; Luden, x 173.

contumacious, was taken after a siege of two months, and destroyed;[g] and at Pavia the king was received with a magnificence which expressed the joy of the citizens in the humiliation of their Milanese enemies.[h]

In March 1153 Frederick had entered into a compact with Eugenius, binding himself to make no alliance with the Romans or with Roger of Sicily unless with the pope's consent, and to maintain the privileges of the papacy; while the pope promised to support the power of Frederick, and to bestow on him the imperial crown, and both parties pledged themselves to make no grant of Italian territory to "the king of the Greeks."[i] Since the date of that compact, Eugenius had been succeeded by Anastasius IV., and Anastasius, in December 1154, by Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, who took the name of Adrian IV. Breakspear, the son of a poor clerk, who had afterwards become a monk of St. Albans, is said to have been refused admission into that house on account of his insufficiency in knowledge, and was driven to seek his fortune in France, where he distinguished himself by his diligence in study at Paris, and rose to be abbot of the regular canons of St. Rufus, near Avignon. In this office he became unpopular with his canons, who carried their complaints against him to Eugenius III.; and the pope at once put an end to the strife and marked his high sense of the abbot's merit by appointing him cardinal-bishop of Albano.[k] As cardinal, he was sent on an

July 1153.

Dec. 1154.

[g] Gunth. ii. 393, seqq.

[h] Ib. It has been said that Frederick was crowned king of the Lombards at Pavia. But the meaning of "coronatur" in Otto of Freising (ii. 20) is merely that at the festivities there he wore a crown. Mur. Ann. VI. ii. 326.

[i] Patrol. clxxx. 1638-9, or Pertz, Leges, ii. 92-4. The genuineness of this document has been questioned (Schröckh, xxiv. 149), but is now generally acknowledged as to substance. See Pertz, l. c.; Gieseler, II. ii. 79; Luden, x. 324, 624.

[k] Will. Neubrig. i. 6; Matt. Paris, Vitæ Abbatum, p. 66. These authors do not entirely agree as to the cause of his leaving England. As to St. Rufus, see above, p. 30.

important legation into the Scandinavian kingdoms, from which he returned during the pontificate of Anastasius;[1] and now the poor English scholar, whose Saxon descent would probably have debarred him from any considerable preferment in his native land, was elected to the chair of St. Peter. "He was," says a biographer, "a man of great kindness, meekness, and patience, skilled in the English and in the Latin tongues, eloquent in speech, polished in his utterance, distinguished in singing and an eminent preacher, slow to anger, quick to forgive, a cheerful giver, bountiful in alms and excellent in his whole character."[m] If, however, we may judge by his acts, it would seem that Adrian's temper was less placid than it is here represented; and his ideas as to the papal dignity were of the loftiest Hildebrandine kind. Immediately after his election, he refused to acknowledge the republican government, and issued an order that Arnold of Brescia should be banished from Rome. To this it was answered that the pope ought to confine himself to spiritual affairs; and the insolence of Arnold's partisans increased until it reached a height which gave the pope an advantage against them. A cardinal was attacked and mortally wounded in the street; Adrian placed the city under an interdict; and the severity of this sentence, which had never before been known at Rome, was the more strongly felt from its being issued in Lent, a time when the Romans had been accustomed to the pomp and the religious consolations of especially solemn services. By the absence of these the people were so intensely distressed that, in the holy week, they compelled the senators to submit to the pope, who consented to take off his censure on condition that Arnold should be driven out.[n] On this Arnold fled from the city, and, after having wandered for a time,

[1] Card. Aragon. in Patrol. clxxxix. 1351; Baron, 1148. 40. See below, c. xi. sect. 7.

[m] Card. Arag. l. c. 1352.

[n] Ibid.

he found a refuge among the nobles of the Campagna, by whom he was regarded as a prophet. But Frederick, as he advanced towards Rome with a rapidity which excited Adrian's suspicions, was met by three cardinals, who in the pope's name requested that he would take measures against an incendiary so dangerous to the crown as well as to the church; and in consequence of the king's demand Arnold was surrendered by those who sheltered him. Frederick delivered him over to the pope, and, under the authority of the prefect of Rome, the popular leader was hanged, after which his body was burnt, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber, lest they should be venerated as relics by the multitudes who had followed him.[o] "Bad as his doctrine was," says Gerhoh of Reichersperg, "I wish that he had been punished with imprisonment, or exile, or with some other penalty short of death, or at least that he had been put to death in such a manner as might have saved the Roman church from question."[p]

The negotiations which Adrian had opened through his cardinals were satisfactorily settled by Frederick's swearing that his intentions were friendly to the pope, and receiving in turn a promise of the imperial crown.[q] Having thus assured himself, Adrian ventured into the camp at Nepi, where he was received with great honour; but, although Frederick threw himself at his feet, the pope took offence at the king's omitting to hold his stirrup—an act of homage which, although the first example of it had been given little more than half

June 9, 1155.

[o] Otto Fris. ii. 20; Annal. Palid. ap. Pertz. xvi. 89; Gerhoh. de Investig. Antichristi, quoted by Gieseler, II. ii. 70; Gunther, iii. 344-8; Auctar. Sigeb. Afflighem., Patrol. clx. 288; Card. Arag., ib. clxxxviii. 1353; Gibbon, v. 339; Francke's 'Arnold v. Brescia,' 192, seqq.; Milman, iii. 413. Sismondi's romantic account of Arnold's death (Rép. Ital. ii. 316), although followed by Raumer (ii. 24), is chiefly drawn from imagination. See Niccolini's 'Arnaldo,' 364; Milman, iii. 413; Gregorov. iv. 509.

[p] Ap. Giesel. l. c. (The treatise is not in Migne's Patrologia.)

[q] Card. Arag. 1353.

a century before, by Conrad, the rebellious son of Henry IV.,[r] was already deduced by the papal party from Constantine the Great, who was said to have performed it to Pope Sylvester.[s] Adrian declared that he would not give the kiss of peace unless he received the same honour which his predecessors had always received, while Frederick declared that the omission was purely the effect of ignorance, but that he must consult his nobles on the subject. The cardinals in alarm withdrew to Civita Castellana, and a long discussion was carried on, which was at length settled by the evidence of some Germans who had accompanied the emperor Lothair to Rome; and, as this evidence was in the pope's favour, Frederick next day submitted to do the service which was required, although it would seem that in the performance he intentionally gave it the character of a jest.[t] Having overcome this difficulty, the king proceeded onwards in company with the pope, who strongly represented to him the disorders of Rome, and endeavoured to draw him into an expedition against the Sicilians, with a view to recovering Apulia for the apostolic see.[u] Frederick contrived to defer the consideration of this proposal; but it may be supposed that the pope's representations had some share in producing the reception which the king gave to a deputation from the citizens, which waited on him near Sutri. After

[r] See vol. iv. p. 383; Luden, xi. 635.

[s] Gerhoh. Syntagma, 24 (Patrol. cxciv. 1469); Eckhart. Schonaug., ib. cxcv. 22; see Vittorelli, in Ciacon. i. 1061. The donation of Constantine represented him as having performed the "office of a groom" to Sylvester (Patrol. lxxiii. 524). Pipin in 754 had set the example of leading the pope's horse (vol. iii. p. 93, and from this the forger of the Donation probably took a hint (Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln' 65); but Conrad seems to have been the first who extended the "officium stratoris" to holding the stirrup.

[t] Card. Arag. 1354-5; Otto Fris. ii. 20; Helmold, i. 80 (in Leibnit. Script. Rer. Brunsv.), Schmidt, ii. 587; Luden, xi. 370, 635. Helmold says that the offence consisted in Frederick's holding the left stirrup, instead of the right.

[u] Helmold, l. c.; Otho Fris. ii. 21; Gunther, iii. 242, seqq., 590, seqq.

listening for a time to the bombastic oration which one of the envoys addressed to him in the name of Rome, dwelling on her glories, and endeavouring to make terms for the Romans in exchange for their consent to the imperial coronation, the king indignantly cut him short—"These," he said, pointing to his German nobles and soldiers, "are the true Latins—the consuls, the senators, the knights. The glory of Rome and the Romans has been transferred to the Franks. Our power has not been conferred by you, as you pretend, but has been won by victory. Your native tyrants, such as Desiderius and Berengar, have been overcome by my predecessors, and died as captives and slaves in foreign lands. It is not for subjects to prescribe laws to their sovereign. It is not for a prince at the head of a powerful army, but for captives, to pay money; I will submit to no conditions of your making." [x]

On reaching Rome, Frederick took possession of the Leonine suburb, while the bridge of St. Angelo, the only means of communication with the opposite bank, was guarded by his soldiery; and on the 18th of June he was crowned by Adrian in St. Peter's amid the loud acclamations of the Germans.[y] But after the ceremony, while the troops had withdrawn from the oppressive heat of the day, and were refreshing themselves in their tents, a body of Romans sallied across the bridge, attacking such of the Germans as they found in the streets or in the churches, and appeared to have a design of seizing the pope. The noise of this irruption penetrated to the emperor's camp, and Frederick immediately ordered his troops to arms. A fierce conflict raged from four in the afternoon till nightfall; the assailants were driven back

[x] Otto Fris. ii. 20-1; Gunth. iii. 360-581; Helmold, i. 79; Gibbon, v. 348-50.

[y] Otto Fris. ii. 22; Gunth. iv. init. Card. Arag. 1355.

as far as the Forum; the Tiber ran with blood, and it is said that a thousand of the Romans were slain, and two hundred taken prisoners, while only one of the imperialists was killed and one captured. At the pope's intercession the Roman captives were given up to the prefect of the city; and on St. Peter's day Adrian pronounced the absolution of all who had taken part in the late slaughter.[z] Frederick was soon after compelled by the pestilential air of the Roman summer to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the city, and, as the time for which his troops were bound to serve was drawing towards an end, he retired beyond the Alps—on the way taking and destroying Spoleto, the inhabitants of which had provoked him by their insolence.[a] At Christmas 1155-6 a diet was held at Worms, where Arnold, archbishop of Mentz, Hermann, count palatine, and others were brought to trial for disturbing the peace of Germany during the emperor's absence. The archbishop was spared in consideration of his age and profession; but the count palatine and ten of his partisans were sentenced to the ignominious punishment of "carrying the dog."[b]

Frederick's attention was soon again demanded by the affairs of Italy. William "the Bad," the son and successor of Roger of Sicily, had in 1155 refused to enter into a treaty with the pope, or to admit his ambassadors to an interview, because Adrian, by way of claiming him as a vassal, had styled him not *king*, but *lord*. He besieged the pope in Benevento, laid waste the surrounding

[z] Frid. ap. Urstis. i. 404; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1155 (Pertz, xvii.); Vincent. Prag. ib. 665; Otto Fris. ii. 22; Gunth. iv. 73-123, 158-176; Card. Arag. 1355; Helmold, i. 80.

[a] Otto Fris. ii. 23; Gunth. iv. 179, seqq.; Card. Arag. 1356; Helmold, i. 81; O. Morena, 989.

[b] Otto Fris. ii. 28. See as to the "ritus canem ferendi," Hoffman, Lexicon Univ., i. 681; Ducange, ii. 96; Grimm. 'Rechtsalterthümer,' 715. It was commonly inflicted as a degradation on nobles condemned to death for such crimes as robbery or arson.

territory, and was denounced excommunicate. This sentence was not without its effect on the minds of William's allies, and, in addition to the fear that these might desert him, the dread of a combination between the Greek emperor and the pope inclined him further to peace. His first overtures were refused, but Adrian, after having seen his own troops and allies defeated, was fain to sue in his turn, and received the most favourable terms. The king fell at his feet, and, on swearing fealty to the Roman see, was invested by Adrian with the kingdom of Sicily and the Italian territories of the Normans (including some which the popes had never before affected to dispose of); while, in consideration of this, he promised to aid the pope against all enemies, and to pay a yearly tribute for Apulia, Calabria, and his other continental dominions.[c] Frederick, who had been exerting himself with energy and success to reduce Germany to tranquillity, was greatly displeased that the pope had without his concurrence entered into an alliance with the Sicilians—an alliance, moreover, which involved the disallowance of the imperial claims to suzerainty over Apulia. He signified his displeasure to Adrian, who on his side was dissatisfied on account of the emperor's having divorced his wife under pretext of consanguinity, and having entered into another marriage, which was recommended to him by political considerations.[d] At a diet at Würzburg, in 1157, a fresh expedition into Italy was resolved on; but it was delayed by the necessity of attending to the affairs of Poland, and in the meantime an incident took place which led to a violent collision between the pope and the emperor.[e]

A.D. 1156.

[c] Adrian, Ep. 102 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Will. Tyr. xviii. 7-8 (ib. cci.); Otto Fris. ii. 29; Card. Arag. 1353-7; Baronius, xix. p. 99; Giannone, ii. 444-5; Gibbon, vi. 363-5; Gregorov. iv. 516.

[d] Reuter, i. 23. See Innoc. III. in Patrol. ccxiv. 1015.

[e] Otto Fris. ii. 30-1; Radevic. i. 1-5; Luden, x. 449; Raumer, ii. 36, 49.

Eskil, archbishop of Lund, in that part of modern Sweden which was then subject to Denmark,[f] in returning from a visit to Rome, had been attacked, plundered, and imprisoned with a view to the exaction of ransom, by some robber knights in the neighbourhood of Thionville.[g] No notice had been taken of this by Frederick, to whom Eskil had probably given offence by his exertions to render the Danish church independent of the metropolitans of Bremen and Hamburg.[h] But Adrian, on hearing of it, addressed to the emperor a letter of indignant remonstrance against the apathy with which he had regarded an outrage injurious to the empire as well as to the church—reminding Frederick of his having conferred the imperial crown on him, and adding that, if it had been in his power, he would have bestowed on him yet greater favours.[i] The letter was presented to the emperor by two cardinals at a great assembly at Besançon, where it was read aloud, and was interpreted by the chancellor Reginald of Dassel (who soon after became archbishop of Cologne).[k] But the word *beneficia*, which the pope had used to signify favours or benefits, was unluckily misunderstood by the Germans as if it had the feudal sense of benefices or fiefs.[l] The pope was supposed to have represented the empire as a fief of the papacy; and it was remembered that Frederick, at his first visit to Rome, had been offended by a picture

Oct. 1157.

[f] Eskil, a very active, political, and splendid prelate, figures largely in northern history. See Saxo Grammaticus, l. xiv.; Münter, ii. 285, seqq.; and c. xi. below. He afterwards resigned his see, went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and died a monk at Clairvaux (Saxo, pp. 355-6; Petr. Cellens. Ep. 108, Patrol. ccii.). Pseudo-Gunther (vi. 26), and Baronius (1157-8), confound Lund with London.

[g] Otto de S. Blas. 8

[h] Münter, ii. 313; Dahlmann, i. 276. Adr. Ep. 143; or Radevic. ii. 9.

[k] Radev. ii. 10. Reginald was elected in 1159, his predecessor having died at Pavia in 1158. Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 770.

[l] Adrian, Ep. 148; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1157, where one copy says that the Germans took the word "pro feudo," and another, that they took it "usualiter" See Luden, xi. 452; Reuter, i. 26.

which, with its inscription, represented Lothair as receiving his crown from the pope's gift, and as performing homage for it.[m] A loud uproar arose at the supposed insolence of the pontiff, and the general feeling was still further exasperated when Cardinal Roland dared to ask "From whom, then, does the emperor hold his crown, if not from the pope?" The palsgrave Otho of Wittelsbach, who carried the naked sword of state, was with difficulty prevented by the emperor from cleaving the audacious ecclesiastic's head with it.[n] "If we were not in a church," said Frederick himself, "they should know how the swords of the Germans cut."[o] He burst forth into violent reproaches against the legates and their master; they were abruptly and ignominiously dismissed, and were charged to return home at once, without staying more than one night in any place of the imperial dominions, or burdening bishops or monasteries by their exactions.[p] Frederick, whose exasperation was increased by some strong rebukes which Adrian had addressed to him on account of his divorce and second marriage,[q]

[m] "Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Post, homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."—*Radevic.* ii. 10.

Adrian had promised to destroy the picture, but had not kept his promise (ib.; Gunther, vi. 291). From the pope's bestowing the imperial crown, which had been allowed since the time of Charles the Bald (see vol. iii. p. 406; Luden, xi. 452), the Italians had come to suppose the empire a fief of the papacy (see Baron. 1157. 5-7); while the Germans, entangled in their feudal notions, could only meet this by denying that it was given by the pope. In the picture, the relation which Lothair had entered into with regard to countess Matilda's inheritance was transferred to the tenure of the empire (Gieseler, II. ii. 81). Gerhoh of Reichersperg, although devoted to the papacy, declares strongly against such pictures (De Investig. Antichristi, quoted by Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 86). John of Salisbury speaks of paintings in the Lateran palace, setting forth the glories of the Roman see (Ep. 59, col. 39 C); and the reader need hardly be told how the genius of Raphael was in later times employed in the Vatican for the same purpose, or how large a proportion of the chief scenes which he and his associates have represented is altogether fabulous.

[n] Otto de S. Blas. 8.

[o] Innoc. III. in Patrol. ccxvi. 1029.

[p] O. Sanblas, l. c.; Adrian, Ep. 148.

[q] Some writers say that the pope went so far as to excommunicate him on this account. See Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1156, 1158; Chron. Affligem. 1156; Joh. Yperius, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 648; Raumer, ii. 50.

forthwith sent forth a letter to his subjects, in which he protested that he would rather hazard his life than admit the pope's insolent assumptions; that he held his kingdom and the empire by the choice of the princes and under God alone, agreeably to our Lord's saying, that two swords are necessary for the government of the world.[r] Orders were issued that no German ecclesiastic should go to Rome without the imperial license, and the passes into Italy were guarded in order to prevent all communication.[s]

On hearing from his legates of the indignities to which they had been subjected, the pope wrote to the German bishops, urging them to bring Dec. 30, 1157. the emperor to a better mind, and to persuade him to exact from archbishop Reginald and the palsgrave signal and public atonement for their "blasphemies" against the Roman church.[t] But on this occasion the German prelates preferred their national to their hierarchical allegiance. They told the pope that they had admonished the emperor, and had received from him "such an answer as became a catholic prince," declaring his firm resolution, while paying all due reverence to the pope, to admit no encroachment of the church on the empire; and they entreated Adrian to soothe the high spirit of their sovereign.[u] The pope began to be alarmed, and, at the instance of Henry, duke of Bavaria, he dispatched two envoys of a more politic character than the last, with a letter of explanation composed in a moderate and conciliatory style. The word *beneficium*, he said, Jan. 29, 1158. meant, not a fief, but simply a good deed *(bonum factum)*, and surely the emperor would admit that to crown him was such a deed; and by *conferring* the

[r] Radev. 10.
[s] Adr. Ep. 148.
[t] Ib., Radev. 15.
[u] Id. 16, or Ep. 1, ad Adr. (Patrol. clxxxviii. 1641); Gunther, vi. 569, seqq.

crown nothing more had been meant than the act of placing it on Frederick's head.[x] The letter was delivered at Augsburg, and was well received; and the picture which had given offence at Rome was removed, if not destroyed.[y]

At length the projected expedition was ready, and Frederick, having settled the affairs of Germany, Hungary, and Poland, crossed the Alps in July 1158, at the head of a force composed of many nations, and which is reckoned at 100,000 infantry and 15,000 horse.[z] Milan and other insubordinate cities were compelled to surrender, and felt his severity, while the enmity of the Italian towns against each other was shown in acts of cruelty committed by those in the imperial interest, to the astonishment and disgust of the Germans.[a] Milan was deprived of the privileges which were known under the name of *royalties*,[b] and was required to submit the choice of its consuls to the emperor for confirmation.[c] At Martinmas, a great assembly was held in the Roncaglian plains, where a city of tents was erected, the Germans and Italians encamping on the opposite banks of the Po.[d] As the extent of the imperial powers in Italy had been hitherto undefined, Frederick, in an address to his assembled subjects, declared himself resolved that it should now be duly ascertained and determined, professing that he would rather govern by law than by his own caprice; and the matter was committed to four eminent professors of Bologna, together with twenty-eight judges of the Lombard cities. Filled

[x] Ep. 181; Rad. i. 16; Otto Sanblas. 9.

[y] Radev. i. 22-3; Gunther, vii. 119, seqq. Schröckh is mistaken in saying (xxvi. 174) that Rasponi describes the picture as existing in 1656. See his book, 'De Basilica, etc., Lateranensi,' pp. 193, 296-7.

[z] Radev. i. 13, 25; Raumer, ii. 62.

[a] Radev. i. 39; Gunther, viii. 57-70; Otto Morena, 1011-15; Vincent. Pragens. in Pertz, xvii. 659-74.

[b] See above, vol. iv. p. 137.

[c] Radev. i. 41-2.

[d] Ib. 46; Gunther, viii. 403, seqq.

with the lofty notions of the imperial dignity which had lately been produced by the revived study of ancient Roman law, these authorities declared that the emperor possessed autocratic power, and was entitled to exact a capitation from all his subjects.[e] The rights of the Italian cities to the possession of royalties were investigated, and those for which no authority could be shown were confiscated;[f] a general tribute was imposed; and by these measures a revenue of 30,000 pounds of silver was added to the imperial treasury.[g] A few cities were allowed by special favour to retain their consuls, who were to be appointed with the emperor's consent; but the ordinary system of government was to be by officers bearing the title of *podestà*, who were to be nominated by the emperor, and were also to be chosen from among strangers to the place over which they were appointed.[h] Measures were also taken to bind the cities to mutual peace, to prevent them from combining into parties, and to suppress the private wars of the nobles.[i]

On hearing of these proceedings, Adrian was greatly excited. The idea of the imperial prerogative which had been sanctioned at Roncaglia conflicted with the Hildebrandine pretensions of the papacy. The resumption of royalties which had been held not only by cities and by nobles, but by bishops and abbots—the imposition of a tribute from which ecclesiastics were not exempted—the investiture of Frederick's uncle, Welf VI. of Bavaria,

[e] Radev. ii. 3-5; O. Morena, 1017-18; Otto Sanblas. 14; Pertz, Leges, ii. 110-11; Gunth. viii. 475, seqq.; Luden, x. 504-6; Acerb. Morena, 1113. On the Four Bolognese Doctors (Bulgarus, Martin Gosia, etc.), see Savigny, iv., who thinks it a mistake to regard them as pupils of Irnerius (67); see also ch. xiii. sect. iv., below.

[f] Radev. ii. 5; Savigny, iv. 157.

[g] Radev. ii. 5; Gunth. viii. 585.

[h] Vincent. Prag. in Pertz, xvii. 675; Murat. Antiq. Ital. iv. 64, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 344-5; Radev. ii. 5; Hallam, M.A. i. 235, 259; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. ii. 340-2; Raumer, v. 79, 110. The name had been used to designate magistrates in classical days—

"An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas."
—*Juvenal*, x. 100.

[i] Radev. i. 7; Sismondi, R. I., 342; Luden, x. 509.

in the inheritance of the countess Matilda—were circumstances which might well produce alarm and irritation in the pope's mind ;[k] "it seemed to him," says a writer of later date, "as if all that the emperor gained were taken from himself."[l] While engaged in settling the quarrels of the Lombard cities, Frederick received from the pope a letter peremptorily forbidding him to arbitrate in a difference between Bergamo and Brescia ; and instead of being committed, as was usual, to an envoy of honourable station, this letter was delivered by a man of mean and ragged appearance, who immediately disappeared.[m] About the same time Adrian gave additional provocation to the emperor by refusing to allow the promotion of Guy of Blandrata to the see of Ravenna, on the evidently trifling ground that he could not be spared from Rome, where he was a subdeacon of the church.[n] Indignant at these slights, the emperor ordered his secretaries, in addressing the pope, to use the singular instead of the plural number, and to reverse the custom, which had prevailed since the time of Leo IV., of placing the pope's name before that of the sovereign in the heading of letters.[o] These changes drew forth a strong remonstrance from Adrian, who declared them to be a breach of the commandment that we should honour our parents, and of the fealty which Frederick had sworn to the see of St. Peter ; and he further complained that the emperor exacted homage as well as fealty from bishops, that he took their consecrated hands between his own hands, that he closed not only the churches but the cities of his dominions against the legates of the apostolic see.[p] An embassy was also commissioned to demand redress of alleged encroachments on the papacy

[k] Radev. ii. 14 ; Gunther, viii. 65, seqq.

[l] Ib. 107-8.

[m] Radev. ii. 15, 19

[n] Ib. 15-17 ; Adrian, Ep. 197 (Nov. 24, 1158) ; Ep. ad Adr. 2.

[o] Radev. ii. 18. See vol. iii. p. 341.

[p] Adrian, June 24, 1159).

—that the emperor sent messengers to Rome without the knowledge of the pope, to whom all power in the city belonged; that his envoys claimed entertainment in the palaces of bishops; that he exacted the allowance known by the name of *fodrum* from the pope's subjects on other occasions besides that on which it was admitted to be lawful—the expedition to receive the imperial crown; that he detained Matilda's inheritance, and other territories which rightfully belonged to the apostolic see.[q] To these complaints Frederick replied that he had been driven by the pope's new assumptions to fall back on the older forms in writing to him; that he had no wish for the homage of bishops, unless they cared to retain the royalties which they had received from the crown; that the palaces of bishops stood on imperial ground, and therefore his ambassadors were entitled to enter them; that if he shut out cardinals from churches and from cities, it was because they were false to their profession, and were intent only on plunder; that if the pope were sovereign of Rome, the imperial title was a mockery: and he inveighed in strong terms against the pride and rapacity of the Roman court.[r]

The exasperation of both parties rose higher and higher. A proposal of Frederick, that the matters in dispute should be left to the decision of six cardinals to be named by the pope, and six German bishops to be chosen by himself, was rejected by Adrian, on the ground that the pope could be judged by no man.[s] The emperor, indignant at the discovery of letters exhorting the Lombard cities to revolt,[t] received favourably a fresh embassy from the Roman senate and people, and entered into negotiations with them.[u]

[q] Eberh. Bamberg. ap. Radev. ii. 30; Gunther, ix. 280, seqq.

[r] Radev. ii. 18-20, 30; Frid. ap. Urstis. i. 563.

[s] Radev. ii. 31; Gunth. ix. 310, seqq.

[t] Radev. ii. 18.

[u] Ib. 41; Helmold. i. 79. There i a letter purporting to have been ad-

A rupture of the most violent kind between the papacy and the empire appeared to be inevitable, when, on the 1st of September 1159, Adrian died at Anagni.[x]

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER III.

A.D. 1159-1181.

The higher clergy of Rome had during the late pontificate been divided into two parties, of which one adhered to the imperial, and the other to the Sicilian interest;[a] and at the death of Adrian a collision took place between these parties. The cardinals of the Sicilian faction elected Roland Bandinelli or Paparo,[b] cardinal of St. Mark and chancellor of the Roman see—the same who had defied Frederick at Besançon; while the imperialists set up cardinal Octavian, of St. Cecilia, who is said to have been at one time

Sept. 7, 1159.

dressed by Adrian, on March 18, to Hillin, archbishop of Treves, in which the superiority of the ecclesiastical to the secular power is asserted in extravagant terms, and (with some confusion between Popes Zacharias and Leo III.) a second transference of the empire is threatened (Ep. 258; cf. Hahn, 'Collectio Monumentorum,' i. 122). But this and two similar letters are considered to be mere school exercises of some mediæval writer. Jaffé, 950; Hefele, v. 489, seqq. See Schröckh, xxvi. 180; Milman, iii. 425.

[x] The Auersperg Chronicle says that he had excommunicated Frederick a few days before (221); but that this is a mistake appears from Radevic, ii. 52. The Cologne annalist tells us that he died on the night after having held a consultation as to excommunicating the emperor (Pertz, xvii. 767). John of Salisbury had been very intimate with Adrian, and reports a remarkable conversation with him on the corruptions of the Roman court (Polycrat. vi. 24). Five years after his death, John writes of him as "Cantuariensis ecclesiæ amator Adrianus, cujus mater apud vos algore torquetur et inedia." (Ep. 134, Patrol. cxcix. 114.) But, although this is addressed to Abp. Becket, "apud vos" seems to mean *in England* rather than (as some have understood it to mean) *at Canterbury*.

[a] Albert. Stadensis, ap. Pertz, xvi. 344.

[b] On his name see Ciacon. i. 1044, 1072.

excommunicated by the late pope, but had since rendered important services to the emperor.[c] That Roland, although unsupported by the lower clergy, by the nobles, or by the people, had the majority of the cardinals with him, is allowed by the opposite party; but while these represent their own strength to have been nine against fourteen, the adherents of Roland claim for him all but three.[d] The partisans of Octavian (who styled himself Victor IV.) assert that, after the death of Adrian, the cardinals agreed at Anagni that no one should be declared pope except with the unanimous consent of the whole college; but that, on removing to Rome for the late pope's funeral, the Sicilian party, trusting in their superior numbers, resolved to set this compact aside, and to elect from among themselves a pope hostile to the emperor; that they themselves proposed Octavian, as a man of religious character, who would study to promote the good of the church, and its agreement with the empire; that the Sicilian faction cried out for Roland, and were about to invest him with the papal mantle, but that, while he strove to avoid it, the act was prevented, and Octavian was solemnly invested and enthroned in St. Peter's chair; whereupon Roland and his partisans withdrew without making any protest, and shut themselves up in the fortress of St. Peter.[e] According to the other party, Roland (who assumed the name of Alexander III.) had been duly invested with the mantle, when Octavian plucked it from his shoulders, and, after a struggle, huddled it on himself with the assistance of two

[c] Card. Aragon. Vita Adriani (Patrol. clxxxviii. 1354); Niccolini, Arnaldo da Brescia, 323-4. But Otho of Freising says nothing of his alleged disgrace (ii. 21). On his character, see Gregorov. iv. 529. Perhaps Bernard, bishop of Porto, was also at first a candidate, but soon set aside. Reuter, i. 492.

[d] Compare, on Octavian's side, Radev. ii. 50, 52; on the other, Alex. III. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cc.); Card. Arag., ib. col. 12; Radev. ii. 53; Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 59 (Patrol. cxcix. 41). See, too, Reuter, i. 487-92; Gregorov. iv. 530-2.

[e] Radev. ii. 52, 66.

clerks, but so awkwardly that the back part appeared in front;[f] and that thereupon his partisans, rushing in with swords in their hands, drove out Alexander and his supporters. It is remarkable how much the formality as to the mantle is insisted on by the same party which, in the earlier schism between Innocent and Anacletus, had been careful to avoid all questions of form, and to rest its candidate's claims on his character alone;[g] and in the present case the representations which are given by friends and by enemies as to the character of the rivals are utterly irreconcilable.[h]

After having been kept as a prisoner beyond the Tiber for eleven days by some senators in Victor's interest, Alexander and his cardinals were delivered by the Frangipani faction, and passed through the city—in triumphant procession, as they assert, while they tell us that the antipope, on appearing in the streets of Rome, was jeered and hooted by women and boys.[i]

On the 18th of September Alexander was invested with the mantle at Cisterna—a name from which his opponents took occasion for sneers as to "cisterns that could hold no water;"[k] and on the following Sunday he was consecrated by the cardinal of Ostia, at Ninfa.[l] The rival pope had also been compelled to leave Rome, and his consecration was performed at Farfa on the 4th of October by the cardinal of Tusculum, with two other bishops, whom Alexander's friends describe as banished from their sees.[m] Victor

Sept. 20.

[f] Alex. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cc.); Card. Arag., ib. 13; Letter of cardinals, ib. 63; Gerhoh. Ep. 22 (ib. cxciii.).

[g] See above, p. 71.

[h] *E.g.*, Joh. Saresb. Ep. 59, col. 41, D; Chron. Palith. ap. Pertz, xvi. 91, etc.

[i] Alex. Ep. 1; Card. Arag., in Patrol. cc. 13-14.

[k] (Jerem. ii. 13.) Radev. ii. 50, 52, 66.

[l] The description of Ninfa—"ein reizendes Pompeii des Christenthums,"—in Gregorovius, iv. 528, excites a wish to visit that little-known place. Cf. Cartwright, 15.

[m] Letter of Alexander's cardinals, Patrol. cc. 63-4; Radev. ii. 50; see Pertz, Leges, ii. 126.

was supported in his pretensions by the imperial commissioners Otho of Wittelsbach and Guy of Blandrata, and, while Alexander's partisans complained of this, his rival appealed to the emperor for a decision.[n]

Frederick, on attempting to carry out the decrees of the Roncaglian assembly, had met with an obstinate resistance. In many cities the podestàs appointed by him had been turned out by the people; at Milan admittance was denied to them, although the Milanese had advised at Roncaglia that such magistrates should be appointed for the Italian cities; and the imperial chancellor, Reginald, archbishop elect of Cologne, was grossly insulted and driven from the city.[o] Sieges and other military operations were carried on with fierce exasperation on both sides, and the imperialists reduced the country around Milan to a desert.[p] It was while engaged in the siege of Crema[q] that Frederick received the letter by which Alexander announced his election; and such was his indignation at the contents that he tossed it from him, refused to make any answer, and was with difficulty restrained from hanging the bearers of it.[r] After advising with his bishops and his lawyers, he resolved to submit the question of the papacy to a council; and the rival claimants were summoned to appear before it.[s] By writers of Alexander's party it is asserted that, while Frederick continued to address him as chancellor Roland, Octavian was already acknowledged in the imperial letters as pope;[t] but this seems very questionable.[u]

[n] Alex. Ep. 19; Radev. ii. 53; Letter of cardinals, Patrol. cc. 64; Card. Arag., ib. 15.

[o] Radev. ii. 21; O. Sanblas. 24; Vincent. Prag. 676.

[p] Radev. ii. 33; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 345-62.

[q] Radev. ii. 40, seqq.; Otto Morena, in Muratori, vi. 1032, seqq.; Vincent. Prag. 677-8.

[r] Card. Arag. 15.

[s] Radev. ii. 54, 56.

[t] Cardinals, in Patrol. cc. 64; Card. Arag., ib. 15; Joh. Saresb. Ep. 59, col. 39.

[u] Schröckh, xxvi. 191

The council, which had been originally summoned to meet in October, but had been delayed until after the fall of Crema,[x] assembled at Pavia in February 1160.[y] The emperor had invited the kings of France, England, Hungary, Spain, and other countries to send bishops as representatives of their churches;[z] but the prelates who appeared, about fifty in number, were almost all from his own German and Lombard dominions.[a] Alexander, although a homeless fugitive from his city, had refused in the loftiest style of papal dignity to attend, asserting that, as lawful pope, he could be judged by no man; that Frederick, by calling a council without his sanction, and by citing him to it as a subject, had violated the rights of the holy see. A second and a third summons were addressed to him, but met with the same disregard as the first.[b]

At the opening of the council the emperor appeared, and, after a speech in which he asserted his right to convoke such assemblies, agreeably to the examples of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and Charlemagne, declared that he left the decision of the disputed election to the bishops, as being the persons to whom God had given authority in such matters.[c] An objection was raised by the Lombard prelates against proceeding in the absence of Alexander; but this was overruled by their German brethren, who pleaded the length and the cost of their own journeys to attend the council, and said that, as Roland's absence was wilful, he must bear the consequences of it.[d] The question was therefore debated,[e] and at the end of seven days the council pronounced in favour of Victor, who thereupon received the

[x] (Jan. 27, 1160.) O. Morena, 1051.
[y] Radev. ii. 60-2.
[z] Ib. 55; O. Sanblas. 14.
[a] O. Morena, 1059; Radev. i. 72. See Luden, xi. 25, and notes.
[b] Radev. ii. 55, 70, 71; O. Morena, 1057; Card. Arag. 16.
[c] Radev. ii. 63-5.
[d] Vinc. Prag. 679; Raumer, ii. 88.
[e] See Reuter, i. 115.

homage of all who were present, the emperor holding his stirrup, leading his horse by the rein, and showing him all other usual marks of reverence.[f] Victor renewed an excommunication which he had pronounced against Alexander, to which Alexander replied by a counter-excommunication;[g] and while the emperor declared that the meeting at Pavia had been a full and legitimate council of the church, Alexander and his party spoke of it as a mere secular court. They dwelt on the small number of the bishops who had attended; on the intimidation which was said to have been practised, but which had been unable to prevent some show of dissent from the decrees; on the refusal of the English and French envoys to commit themselves to the decision; and they asserted that the antipope had abased himself by the unexampled humiliation of stripping off his insignia in the emperor's presence, and receiving investiture by the ring.[h]

Although the partisans of Victor professed at the council of Pavia to have the support of England, Spain, Hungary, Denmark, Bohemia, and other countries,[i] Alexander was soon acknowledged almost everywhere except in the empire. The kings of France and of England, with their bishops, after a separate recognition of his title in each country, combined to acknowledge

[f] Pertz, Leges, ii. 125-7; Vinc. Prag. 679; Radev. ii. 65-70; Otto Morena, 1057-9; Chron. Allersbach. in Canis. III. ii. 260; Martene, Thesaur. i. 447.

[g] Radev. ii. 72.

[h] Alex. Ep. 19; Radev. ii. 71; Cardinals, in Patrol. cc. 65; Fastredus, Ep. ad. Alex. 4 (ibid.); Vita Eberhardi Salzburg., in Canis. III. ii. 302; Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 59, col. 39 B; Gerhoh. in Ps. cxxxiii., Patrol. cxciv. 893 C. Victor, in a letter written from Pavia, and published in Liverani's 'Spicilegium' (Florent. 1864), charges Alexander and his partisans with having conspired to elect a pope while Adrian was still alive (763-6). Compare the letter of Victor's partisans in the council, which is given most fully by Brown, 'Fascic. Rerum Exp. et Fugiend.' ii. 552.

[i] Radev. ii. 70; Pertz, Leges, ii. 127, 129. It would seem that Scotland for a time adhered to the antipope, as Samson of St. Edmund's Bury, in passing through the antipapal parts of Italy, affected the character of a Scot. Joc. de Brakelonda, 35.

him at a council at Toulouse, to which Alexander, being assured of his ground, had condescended to send representatives to confront those of his rival.[k] The Lombard cities, engaged in a deadly struggle with the emperor, were Alexander's natural allies. The strength of the great monastic orders was with him, although for a time the Cluniacs held with his opponent.[l] By means of envoys he was able to win the favour of the Byzantine court;[m] the Latins of the East, in a council at Nazareth, agreed to acknowledge him, and to anathematize the antipope;[n] and Spain, Denmark, and others of the less important kingdoms gradually adhered to the prevailing side.[o] Each party employed against the other all the weapons which it could command; the rival popes issued mutual anathemas; Alexander released the emperor's subjects from their allegiance, while Frederick ejected bishops of Alexander's party, and banished the Cistercians from the empire for their adhesion to him.[p] In Alexander the hierarchical party had found a chief thoroughly fitted to advance its interests. While holding the highest views of the Hildebrandine school, the means which he employed in their service were very different from those of Hildebrand. He was especially skilful in dealing with men, and in shaping his course according to circumstances; and above all things he was remarkable for the

[k] Hard. VI. ii. 1585-8; Will. Neubrig. i. 108; Henr. ad Alex. Ep. 26 (Patrol. cc.); Fastredus, ib. Ep. 4; Joh. Sarisb. Epp. 44, 48, 59 fin., 63-5; Alex. Ep. 29; Reuter, i. 166-9. Lewis appears to have been decided in favour of Alexander by the English king. Pet. Bles. Ep. 144 (Patrol. ccvi.).

[l] See Alex. Epp. 40-1, 59; Gilb. Foliot, Ep. 479 (Patrol. cxc.). The Templars were also with Victor until 1161, when they joined Alexander. Wilcke, ii. 185.

[m] Card. Arag. in Patrol. cc. 18; Letter of Manuel to Lewis, in Bouquet, xvi. 82.

[n] Alex. Ep. 31; Ep. 3 ad Alex.; Hard. VI. ii. 1581; Will. Tyr. xviii. 29.

[o] Card. Hyacinth. ap. Gerhoh. Ep. 22 (Patrol. cxciii.). As to Denmark, see Saxo Grammat. l. xiv. pp. 299-304; Münter, ii. 482. Bohemia held to the emperor throughout (Chron. Sazaw., Patrol. clxvi. 292). For Victor's council at Lodi, in June, 1161, see O. Morena, 1090-1.

[p] Card. Arag. 17-18; Helmold, i. 90; Reuter, i. 131.

calm and steady patience with which he was content to await the development of affairs, and for the address with which he contrived to turn every occurrence to the interest of his cause.[q]

In consequence of its renewed offences, Milan had been laid under the ban of the empire, and Frederick had sworn never to wear his crown until the rebellious city should be reduced.[r] The siege had lasted three years, when, in the end of February 1162, the Milanese found themselves brought to extremity by the exhaustion of their provisions, while the emperor's strength had been lately increased by powerful reinforcements from Germany. The besieged attempted to make conditions, but Frederick would admit nothing less than an absolute surrender; and in his camp at Lodi he gratified himself by beholding the abject humiliation of their representatives, who appeared before him in miserable guise, barefooted, with ropes around their necks, and holding naked swords to their throats, in acknowledgment that their lives were forfeit.[s] Four days later a more numerous deputation appeared, having with them the *carroccio*, or waggon on which the standard of Milanese independence had been displayed in battle.[t] The great brazen war-trumpets were laid at the emperor's feet; and at his command the mast, to which the flag was attached, was lowered, and the *carroccio* was broken up in his presence. Frederick[u] told the deputies that their lives should be spared, but declared himself resolved to root out their city from the earth. The inhabit-

March 1162.

[q] As a specimen of his policy, see Ep. 1051, to Henry, archbishop of Reims.

[r] O. Morena, 1022; Schmidt, ii. 615-16.

[s] Frider. ap. Martene, Thesaur. i. 473; O. Morena, 1087, 1099, 1101; O. Sanblas. 15; Annal. Colon. 1162 (Pertz, xvii.); Auctar. Afflighem. Sigeb. A.D. 1162 (Patrol. clx.); Sire Raul, Murat. vi. 1187; Gunther, viii. 239, seqq. For the custom of holding swords to the throat, see Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 714.

[t] See vol. iv. p. 62.

[u] Otto Morena, 1101; Annal. Colon. 1162; Luden, xi. 67.

ants were marched out at the gates, and, after having endured much misery from the want of shelter, were distributed into four open villages, which they were compelled to build, each two leagues apart from the rest; and in these villages they lived under the inspection of imperial officers. The houses of the city were doomed to destruction, which was zealously and effectually executed by the men of Lodi and other hostile towns, to whom the work was entrusted. Churches and monasteries alone remained standing, amid masses of rubbish surrounded by shattered fragments of the walls which had so long defied the imperial power.[x] Immense plunder was carried off;[y] and among the losses which were most deplored by the Milanese was that of some relics of especial sanctity—the bodies of St. Felix and St. Nabor (famous in the history of the great archbishop Ambrose),[z] and above all those of the Three Kings of the East, which were believed to have been presented by St. Helena to archbishop Eustorgius, and were now transferred by the imperial chancellor, Reginald of Cologne, to be the chief treasure of his own cathedral.[a]

All Lombardy was subdued; the fortifications of some cities were destroyed, and all were put under the ad-

[x] Frid. in D'Achery, iii. 536; Burkhard. de Excidio Mediol., in Freher, i. 236; Chron. Allerspach., in Canis. III. ii. 260; Otto Sanblas. 16; Sigeb. Auctar. Affligh. A.D. 1163; Otto Morena, 1101; Chron. Ursperg. 223; Pagi, xix. 200; Raumer, ii. 96-7; Luden, x. 72, seqq. Luden does not agree with Raumer in thinking that the accounts of the destruction are exaggerated.

[y] The chronicler of Petershusen (Patrol. cxliii. 375) says that out of the money got from Milan and from other cities which were terrified by its fall, the emperor gave a tenth to German and Italian monasteries.

[z] See vol. i. p. 384.

[a] Annales Egmond. in Pertz, xvi. 465; Annal. S. Disebod. 1162; Annal. Colon. 1164; Annal. Isingrimi, 116c (ib. xvii.); Will. Neubrig. ii. 8; Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 498; Sire Raul, 1190. The annotator of Otto Morena, in Muratori, vi. 1153, calls the removal "execrabile sacrilegium." A Liége chronicler says that the relics of the Magi had been promised to Henry, bishop of Liége, but in consequence of his death were secured by Reginald. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 1089.) The sarcophagus which formerly contained these relics is still to be seen in the church of St. Eustorgius at Milan. See Handbook of N. Italy, 176, ed 1860.

ministration of podestàs, who, except in cases of special favour, as at Lodi, were always chosen from families unconnected with the places which they were to govern.[b]

Alexander in the meantime, after a residence of sixteen months at Anagni, had returned to Rome in April 1161; but, finding his residence there unsafe, he soon withdrew to Terracina; and at length he resolved, like so many of his predecessors, to seek a refuge in France.[c] In April 1162 he landed at Montpellier, where he was received with great enthusiasm; and there he held a council, at which he renewed his excommunication of the antipope and the emperor, with their adherents.[d] The conquest of Milan now enabled Frederick to return to Italy, and he invited the French king—whose adhesion to Alexander was still believed to be wavering[e]—to a conference at St. Jean de Losne, in Burgundy, with a view to the settlement of the question as to the papacy. It was proposed that each sovereign should be accompanied to the place of meeting by the pope whose cause he espoused, and that the decision should be committed to an equal number of laymen and ecclesiastics. Alexander, however, as before, refused to submit to any judgment,[f] and he endeavoured to prevent the meeting. In this, indeed, he was unsuccessful; but through his influence Lewis went into the negotiations with a disposition to catch at any occasion for withdrawing. On one occasion, after having waited for some hours on the bridge of St. Jean de Losne, while Frederick was accidentally delayed, the king washed his hands in the Saône, and rode off, declaring that his engagement was

[b] O. Morena, 1109-12. It was necessary that a podestà should be of high birth, and a knight. He brought with him his own legal and military staff. Fauriel on Dante, i. 79, seqq.

[c] Ep. 46; Jaffé, 683. For his reception at Genoa, see Caffari in Pertz, xviii. 31.

[d] Epp. 64, 73; Card. Arag. 19; Reuter, i. 193-6.

[e] Ib. 200.

[f] Ep. 91.

at an end; and, although he was persuaded by the emperor's representations to resume the negotiations, they ended in mutual dissatisfaction.[g]

The pope was visited at the monastery of Dole in Aquitaine by Henry of England, who kissed his feet, refused to be seated in his presence, except on the ground, and presented him with rich gifts;[h] and soon after he had an interview with Lewis and Henry at Toucy, on the Loire, where both kings received him with the greatest reverence, and each held a rein of his horse as they led him to his tent.[i] It was agreed that a council should be held at Tours in the following year; and at Whitsuntide this assembly met. Seventeen cardinals, a hundred and twenty-four bishops, and upwards of four hundred abbots were present; among the most conspicuous of whom was Thomas Becket, lately promoted by Henry to the archbishoprick of Canterbury.[k] Alexander was solemnly acknowledged by this great assembly, and among its canons was one which annulled the ordinations of Octavian.[l] Both by Henry and Lewis the pope was requested to choose for himself a residence within their dominions; and having fixed on the city of Sens, he settled there in October 1163.[m]

A.D. 1163.

The antipope Octavian or Victor died at Lucca, in 1164.[n] It is supposed that Frederick was inclined to take advantage of this event in order to a reconciliation with Alexander, but that a fresh election was urged on by the chancellor, Reginald of Cologne, whom Alexander de-

[g] Alex. Ep. 96; Henr. Rem. in Bouquet, xvi. 30; Frider. ib. 690, seqq.; Card. Arag. 21-2; Helmold, i. 90; Annal. Colon. p. 777; Raumer, ii. 102-4; Sismondi, v. 441-2; Reuter, i. 212.

[h] Card. Arag. 22.

[i] Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 496.

[k] Hard. VI. ii. 1589, seqq.

[l] C. 9.

[m] Card. Arag. 25. For his movements, see Bouquet, xv. 721, seqq., or Jaffé.

[n] April 20 (Jaffé). Miracles are said to have been done at his tomb (Acerb. Morena, in Murat. vi. 1125; Annales Palith. in Pertz, xvi. 92), to the great indignation of Baronius (1164. 32).

scribes as "the author and head of the church's troubles."[o] Two only of the cardinals who had sided with Octavian survived; and one of them, Guy of Crema, was chosen by the single vote of the other, and was consecrated by Henry, bishop of Liége. It was noted by the opposite party, as a token of Divine judgment, that the bishop who had ventured to perform this unexampled consecration, although he himself, as well as Hillin, archbishop of Treves, had refused to be set up as antipope, died within the year.[p] Whatever the emperor's earlier feelings may have been, he now resolved to give a strenuous support to the antipope, who styled himself Paschal III. It seemed likely that Henry of England, the most powerful sovereign in Europe, whose territories in France exceeded those of Lewis, might be won to the imperialist side; for archbishop Becket, in consequence of having set up in behalf of the clergy pretensions to immunity from all secular jurisdiction, had found himself obliged to flee from England, and had been received with open arms by Lewis and Alexander. In the hope, therefore, of profiting by the English king's resentment at the favour displayed towards one whom he regarded as the enemy of his royal rights, Frederick despatched Reginald of Cologne into England, with proposals for a matrimonial alliance between the families of the two sovereigns, and also with a charge to negotiate in order to detach Henry from Alexander's party. But although Henry was willing to consider such proposals, the envoys found the English in general zealous for the cause of Becket and of the pope to such a degree that, in token of abhorrence of the schism, the altars on which the imperialist clergy had celebrated

April 22, 1164.

Nov. 1164.

Lent, 1165.

[o] Ep. 254; Chron. Pisan. in Murat. vi. 175; Schmidt, ii. 619; Luden, xi. 627.

[p] Annal. Reichersp. in Pertz, xvii. 470; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1164 (ib.); Card. Arag. 25. See Luden, xi. 626; Reuter, ii. 15-16.

mass were thrown down, or were solemnly purified from the contamination of their rites.[q] The king, however, agreed to send representatives to a great diet which was to meet at Würzburg, under the emperor's presidency, at Whitsuntide 1165. At the second session of this diet Reginald appeared, with the English envoys, and his counsels swayed the judgment of the assembly. An oath of adhesion to Paschal was exacted; and not only were those present required to swear that they would never acknowledge Alexander or any of his line, and would never accept any absolution from their oaths, but it was provided that, at the emperor's death, his successor should be obliged to swear in like terms before receiving the crown. This oath, however, was not taken so completely as Frederick had designed. A few only of the laity swore; of the prelates, some were absent, some refused it, some took it with qualifications which destroyed its force. And although the English envoys bound themselves by it, their act was afterwards disavowed by their master, as having been done in excess of his instructions.[r]

Reginald of Cologne, who had hitherto remained in the order of deacon—apparently lest, by accepting consecration from schismatics, he should put a hindrance in the way of reconciliation with Alexander,[s]—was now compelled to pledge himself to the schism by receiving ordination to the priesthood at Würzburg, and to the episcopate a few months later, in his own city;[t] and other elect dignitaries were required to commit themselves in like manner.[u] But Conrad, archbishop

[q] R. de Diceto, 539.

[r] Hard. VI. ii. 1613, seqq.; Ep. 94 ad Alex. (Patrol. cc.); Will. Cantuar., ib. cxc. 241; Frider. ap. Hard. 1614; Alex. Ep. 357; Annal. Ratispon. 1165 (Pertz, xvii.); Append. ad Radev. 558; Hefele, v. 575-9.

[s] Luden, xi. 194; Joh. Sar. Ep. 59, col. 41 C. See, as to the similar case of Theodoric of Metz, Annal. Mettens. (Patrol. clxiii. 600); also Chron. Hildesheim. in Leibnitz, ii. 748.

[t] Annal. Colon., A.D. 1165.

[u] Chron. Allersp. in Canis. III. ii. 261.

elect of Mentz, while passing through France on a pilgrimage to Compostella, was reconciled to Alexander and from that time steadily adhered to him.[x] Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg, had throughout been the chief supporter of Alexander's interest in Germany, and had received from him at once a reward for his fidelity and an increase of influence, in being invested with the office of legate.[y] His successor, the emperor's uncle Conrad, after having for some time appeared doubtful, now declared openly in favour of Alexander, and was in consequence denounced as an enemy of the empire; his territory was laid waste, his city reduced to ashes, and the property of the see was distributed among Frederick's followers.[z]

The bishop of Palestrina, whom Alexander had left as his vicar in Rome, was dead, and his successor, cardinal John, by a skilful application of money, which had been raised by long and urgent begging in France, England, and Sicily,[a] had succeeded in persuading the Romans to invite his master back.[b] Alexander sailed from Maguelone in September 1165, and, after having visited the Sicilian king at Messina, landed at Ostia.[c] His reception at Rome was a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm. The senate, the nobles, the clergy, and a vast multitude of people bearing olive-branches in their hands, pressed forth to meet him, and conducted him to the city with the liveliest demonstrations of joy; and at the Lateran Gate he was met by almost the whole of the remaining population, among whom the Jews,

Dec. 23.

[x] Annal. Erphesfurd. in Pertz, xvi. 23; Raumer, ii. 136.

[y] Hist. Calam. Eccl. Salisb., Patrol. cxcvi. 1540, seqq. See Alex. Epp. 62, 97, 131, etc.; Chron. Magni, in Pertz, xvii.

[z] Annal. Ratispon. 1165 (Pertz, xvii.); Hist. Calam. Eccl. Salisb.; Raumer, ii. 136; Hefele. v. 580.

[a] See Alex. Epp. 165-6, 383, 458; Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, in Bouquet, xvi. 626; and many letters in the Becket collection.

[b] Card. Arag., Patrol. ii. 18, 27

[c] Alex. Ep. 373; Card. Arag. 27.

carrying the book of their law "according to custom," are especially mentioned as conspicuous.[d] The antipope, Paschal, in the meantime resided at Viterbo, where he is described as making use of the emperor's soldiers to levy exactions from passing merchants and pilgrims.[e]

The measures which the emperor had taken on his last visit to Italy had produced great dissatisfaction. The severities exercised against the Milanese excited general pity, so that even cities which had before been hostile to them received and harboured their fugitives. The podestàs harassed the people by a system of vexations alike cruel and petty, and are said, even by an imperialist writer, to have exacted seven times as much as they were entitled to.[f] Some of these hated officials were murdered. Cities which had adhered to the emperor in his difficulties now found themselves subjected to the same oppression as others; and cries of discontent from all quarters were carried to the imperial court.[g] Frederick resolved on a fresh expedition across the Alps, but was unprovided with a sufficient army, and found himself obliged to pay court to the princes of Germany, who were more and more disinclined to assist him.[h] But at length, in the autumn of 1166, the emperor was able to lead a powerful army into Italy.[i] After having crossed the Alps, he found himself beset with petitions from the Lombards, who had looked to his arrival as an opportunity for obtaining redress of their grievances; but he put these applications aside, and advanced towards

[d] Ep. 375; Card. Arag. 28.

[e] Sigebert. Contin. Aquicinct., A.D. 1165 (Patrol. clx.). Compare Peter of Blois as to the preceding antipope, Patrol. cvii. 143; Jocel. de Brakelonda (Camden Society), 35. Paschal had, in the end of 1165, granted at the Emperor's request the beatification of Charlemagne. See vol. iii. p. 269; Raumer, ii. 137; Noppius, Gesch. der Stadt Aachen, 254, seqq.

[f] Acerb. Morena, in Murat. vi. 1127-31; Sismondi, R. I. i. 361-2; Luden, xi. 144-6, 213; Raumer, ii. 141.

[g] Card. Arag., Patr. cc. 26; Schmidt, ii. 618; Sismondi, R. I. i. 362.

[h] Schmidt, ii. 620.

[i] "Ex omnibus regni visceribus congregato exercitu." O. Sanblas. 20.

Rome.[k] The Byzantine emperor, Manuel, who feared that, if the western kingdoms were at peace, some crusading leader might be able to employ an irresistible force against his crown and the Greek church, had taken advantage of the discords between the papacy and the empire. He had proposed to Alexander that the imperial sovereignty of Rome should be united with that of Constantinople, and had held out a prospect of reunion between the Greek and the Latin churches, to which the pope had appeared favourable.[l] The gold of Manuel had established a strong interest in Italy, and his troops held possession of Ancona.[m] For three weeks Frederick besieged that town; but, while he was detained by its vigorous resistance, a great success was achieved by a part of his force which had been sent on before him, under the command of Reginald of Cologne, and of Christian, who had been substituted for Conrad in the see of Mentz.[n] These war-like prelates encountered at Monte Porzio an army which the Romans had sent forth against their feudal enemies, the imperialist and antipapal citizens of Tusculum; and they defeated it with an amount of loss which, although very variously reported, is spoken of as the greatest calamity that had befallen Rome since the battle of Cannæ.[o] On hearing of this victory, Frederick con-

May 29, 1167.

[k] Acerb. Morena, 1131.

[l] Card. Arag. (30) agrees with Cinnamus (vi. 4) that the Pope gave Manuel reason to believe him favourable.

[m] Acerb. Morena, ii. 33; Gibbon, v. 363-4. For correspondence with the Greek court, see Alex. Epp. 197, 200, 212, 317; Ep. ad Alex. 34, etc.

[n] For an account of Christian, see Albert of Stade, in Pertz, xvi. 347. Also Mrs. Busk's Mediæval Popes, etc., ii. 79.

[o] Card. Arag. 30; Append. ad Radevic. 559. The loss is reckoned at 2,000 slain and 3,000 prisoners by Acerbus Morena (1147); at more than 3,000 by the Ghibelline annalist of Piacenza (Pertz, xviii. 462); at upwards of 6,000 by Albert of Stade (A.D 1167, in Pertz, xvi.); at 9,000 by Lambert Waterlos (ib. 540); at 10,000 by the Erfurt annalist (ib. 23); at 12,000 by Helmold (ii. 10); at 15,000 by Otho of St. Blaise (20). The annalist of Cologne says that 9,000 were killed and 6,000 taken; and that the Romans spoke of only 2,000 out of 42,000 as having returned (Chron. A.D. 1166, Pertz,

cluded an accommodation with the defenders of Ancona, and advanced to Rome, where he gained possession of the Leonine city, while Pisan galleys made their way up to the bridge of St. Angelo for his assistance.[p] The Romans had in great numbers fled for refuge to St. Peter's, which in those unquiet times had been converted into a fortification.[q] For several days the emperor besieged it in vain, until at length a neighbouring church was set on fire. The flames speedily caught the porch of the great basilica; the defenders were driven from their posts by smoke and heat; the gates were broken in with axes, and within the holy building a slaughter ensued which reached even to the high altar.[r] The antipope, Paschal, was brought from Viterbo, and was enthroned in St. Peter's, where, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, the emperor and the empress were crowned by his hands.[s] An oath of fealty was exacted of the Romans, while Frederick engaged to acknowledge the privileges of their senatorial government.[t]

July 30.

Aug. 1.

Alexander had taken refuge, under the protection of the Frangipanis, in a fortress constructed within the ruins of the Colosseum. It was proposed by the emperor that both popes should resign, on condition that the orders conferred by each should be acknowledged, and that a new successor of St. Peter should be chosen. The scheme was urged on Alexander by the Romans, whom both parties had been trying to conciliate by bribes; but he again declared that the Roman pontiff was subject to no earthly judgment, and refused

xvii.). Raumer (ii. 144), and Luden xi. 236, 643) follow the lowest of these estimates. See Muratori, Annali VI. i. 406-7; Gibbon, vi. 352; Gregorov. iv. 541-2.

[p] Chron. Pisan. in Murat. VI. 180.

[q] See Gerhoh. in Ps. 64, c. 52 (Patrol. cxciv.

[r] O. Sanblas. 20; Acerb. Morena, 1133, 1151; Card. Arag. 31; Helmold., ii. 10; Gregorov. iv. 545-7.

[s] Helmold. ii. 10.

[t] Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 781; Acerb. Morena, 1153.

to cede the office which God had conferred on him.[u] At this crisis two Sicilian vessels arrived, bearing a large sum of money for his relief,[x] and offering him the means of escape; but, although he gladly received the money, and distributed it among his adherents, he declined to embark, and, escaping from Rome in the disguise of a pilgrim, made his way to his own city of Benevento. There the scheme for reuniting the empires and the churches of East and West was again proposed to him by ambassadors from Manuel; but he declined to engage in it on account of its formidable difficulties.[y]

Scarcely had Frederick established himself in possession of Rome, when a pestilence of unexampled violence broke out among the Germans.[z] In one week the greater part of his army perished. Men were struck down while mounting their horses; some, who were engaged in burying their comrades, fell dead into the open graves. Unburied corpses tainted the air, and among the Romans themselves the ravages of the disease were terrible. The emperor's loss is said to have amounted to 25,000; and the papal party saw a divine ratification of Alexander's curses in a visitation which destroyed the power of the "new Sennacherib," and carried off the chiefs of his sacrilegious host—among them, the indefatigable Reginald of Cologne, Frederick of Rothenburg, son of Conrad III., the younger Welf of Bavaria, and a multitude of other prelates and nobles.[a] Stripped of his strength by this

[u] Card. Arag. 29-32.

[x] See Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 145, Patrol. cxcix. 138.

[y] Card. Arag. 31, 34.

[z] The Ghibelline annalist of Piacenza ascribes it to the effect of a rain-fall "quæ vocatur *bazobo*." Pertz, xviii. 462.

[a] Otto Sanblas. 20; Append. ad Radev. 559; Annal. Egmond. in Pertz, xvi. 466; Annal. Colon. 782; Lamb. Waterlos., ib. 540 (who, however, reckons the loss at only 7,000); Hist. Calamit. Eccl. Salisburg., Patrol. cxcvi. 1548; Joh. Sarisb. Epp. 201, 218, 220; Thom. Cantuar, Ep. 6 (Patrol. cxc.); Sicard., ib. ccxiii. 513; Acerbus Morena, in Murat. vi. 1153. The last-named chronicler himself died at Siena in consequence of the plague (ib. 1155). It is said that, from the reduction of the male population by the slaughter

calamity, Frederick withdrew to the north of Italy, almost as a fugitive, and death further thinned his ranks as he went along.[b] All Lombardy was now combined against him; for his neglect of the petitions which had been presented on his arrival in Italy had led the people to charge on the emperor himself the oppressions which they endured at the hands of his officers; and the exactions of these officers were even aggravated beyond their old measure. While Frederick was engaged in the siege of Ancona, the chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a league for twenty years, with the declared object of restoring the state of things which had prevailed under the emperor Henry.[c] Even the imperialist Lodi was coerced by its neighbours into joining this league, and Pavia alone stood aloof.[d] The confederates had contrived to rebuild the walls of Milan and to restore its inhabitants; and in this they were aided with money not only by the Greek emperor, but (which we read with some surprise) by Henry of England.[e] The spirit of revolt was fanned by the tidings of the emperor's great disaster. He summoned an assembly to meet at Pavia, but few attended; and in token of defiance to the Lombards, and of the vengeance which he was resolved to execute on them, he threw down his gauntlet as he denounced them with the ban of the empire.[f] As he moved towards the Alps the people rose on him, and harassed him with straggling attacks which his reduced force was hardly sufficient to repel. At Susa his life was in danger, and he was driven to make his escape across

at Monte Porzio, and by the plague, the women of Rome were unable to find husbands. Helmold, ii. 10; App. ad Radev. 559.

[b] A. Morena, Contin. 1155.

[c] Otto Morena, 1133, 1143; Sire Raul, 1188, 1190; Card. Arag. 26. Sismondi supposes Henry IV. to be meant (Rép. Ital. i. 376); Hallam is for Henry V. (i. 237). See on the subject Muratori, Antiq. Ital. v. 261.

[d] O. Mor. 1143.

[e] Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 218; Pagi, xiv. 355; see Liverani, Spicileg. 548.

[f] O. Morena, 1157; Sismondi, R. I i. 385.

the mountains in disguise.[g] After this withdrawal, the confederate cities, with a view of keeping in check his only remaining allies—the citizens of Pavia and the marquis of Montferrat—built in a strong position, at the confluence of the Tanaro and the Bormida, a town to which, in honour of the pope, they gave the name of Alexandria. The population was brought together from all parts of the neighbouring country, and a free republican government was organized. Alexandria, although at first derided as a "city of straw,"[h] made very rapid progress. At the end of its first year it could boast of fifteen thousand fighting men; and in its second year, Alexander, at the request of its consuls, erected it into an episcopal see. The first bishop was nominated by the pope, but he apologized for this on the ground of necessity, and assured the clergy that it should not prejudice their right of election in future.[i]

Eager as Frederick was to take vengeance on the Lombards for his late humiliation, seven years elapsed before he could again venture into Italy. In the meantime the pope was strengthening himself greatly. His alliance with the growing power of the Lombard cities was drawn closer, and he was careful to promote internal unity among them.[k] The antipope Paschal died at Rome in September 1168, and, although an abbot named John of Struma was set up as his successor, under the name of Calixtus III., there was little reason to fear this new competitor.[l] The contest between

[g] Otto Sanblas. 20; Joh. Sar. Ep. 244; cf. Chron. Ursperg. 226; Luden, xi. 146-8.

[h] "Palearum civitas." Chron. Ursperg. 226; Sicard. in Patrol. ccxiii. 514; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 213. The Ghibellines called it "Alessandria della Paglia."

[i] Card. Arag. 33, 44; O. Sanblas. 22, Alex. Ep. 1234; Sismondi, R. I. 338. See Innocent III., in Potthast, 52. Muratori gives a document by which the people of Alexandria bound themselves in 1169 to pay a yearly tribute to the pope. Antiq. Ital. v. 831.

[k] Ep. 851.

[l] Card. Arag. 35; Planck, iv. 394. By some (but wrongly, as it would seem) he is described as bishop of Tusculum or of Albano (Reuter, iii. 6-7)

Henry II. and Becket had ended in the archbishop's return to England, after an exile of seven years, and his murder, in his own cathedral, by four knights of the royal household. The horror excited by this crime redounded principally to the advantage of Alexander. Popular enthusiasm was arrayed on the side of the hierarchy, and Henry's enemies, lay as well as ecclesiastical, beset the pope with entreaties for vengeance on him. The king was fain to purchase reconciliation with the church by humble messages, and by submitting to terms dictated by two legates at Avranches in May 1172. His sons were stirred up by Queen Eleanor to rebellion, which was sanctified by a reference to the wrongs of St. Thomas the Martyr (for Becket had been canonized by Alexander in Lent 1173); and in the extremity of his danger the king repaired to Canterbury as a penitent, walked barefooted from the outskirts of the city to the cathedral, spent a night in prayer at the tomb of his late antagonist, and, after protesting his deep remorse for the hasty words from which the murderers had taken occasion for their crime, submitted to be scourged by every one of the monks.[m]

Dec. 29, 1170.

Frederick, although he had required a profession of obedience to the antipope Calixtus, soon after made overtures to Alexander; but the pope steadily refused to enter into any treaty which should not include his Lombard and Sicilian allies.[n] In Germany the emperor proceeded with vigour, and succeeded in enforcing general submission to his will;[o] and in 1174 he was able

The unimportance of Calixtus may be inferred from the notice of him in the Chronicle of Melrose (Gale and Fell, i.), A.D. 1168 — "Tertius antipapa, cujus nomen ignoratur, qui et ignorans ignorabitur, elevatus est."

[m] Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1427; Hoveden, 308, *a*. For a full account of the penance, see Dean Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury.

[n] Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 292, col. 337; Raumer, ii. 155. Alexander's biographer treats the emperor's proposals as delusive (Patrol. cc. 35); but this opinion is not generally followed.

[o] Schmidt, ii. 630; Raumer, ii. 152.

to cross the Mont Cenis at the head of an army, which was in great measure composed of mercenaries or (as they were then styled) Brabançons. Susa, the first Italian city which he reached, was given up to the flames in revenge for the insults which it had formerly offered to him; and for four months he closely besieged Alexandria, from which, after having had his camp burnt by a sallying party of the defenders, he was at length driven off by the approach of a Lombard army.[p] Archbishop Christian of Mentz, who had been sent on in advance, was equally unfortunate in a renewed siege of Ancona; for the inhabitants, after having been reduced to the extremity of distress, were delivered at the end of six months by allies whom the money of the Greek emperor had raised up to their assistance.[q] Negotiations were renewed between the emperor and the pope; but each wished to insist on terms which the other party refused to accept.[r] Frederick received reinforcements from Germany; but, through the refusal of his cousin, Henry the Lion, of Saxony, to yield him active support—although it is said that the emperor condescended to entreat it on his knees[s]—he found himself unequally matched with his enemies; and on the memorable field of Legnano the leagued Italian cities, which a few years before he had

[p] Card. Arag. 39-40; Raumer, ii. 163-5. It is said by Italian writers that Frederick attempted to gain possession of Alexandria by treachery during a truce which had been concluded for the solemnities of Easter (Card. Arag. 41; Romuald. Salern. in Murat. vii. 213). Notwithstanding the silence of the German chroniclers, Luden is inclined to believe this (xi. 662). On the other side see Raumer (ii. 165), and Mrs. Busk (ii. 128). Comp. Muratori, vii. 189.

[q] By some this siege is placed in 1172 (Buoncompagni, in Murat. vi. 925, seqq.; Chron. Pisan. ib.; Sicard. Cremonens., in Patrol. ccxii. 514); by others, in 1174 (Chron. Pisan. in Murat. vi.; Albert. Stad. in Pertz, xvi. 34; Raumer, ii. 161); Muratori avows a change of opinion in favour of the later date. Annali, VII. ii. 13.

[r] Card. Arag. 43; Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 277; Sismondi, R. I. 411.

[s] Chron. Ursperg. 226; Arnold. Lubec. ii. 15 (Pertz, xvi.); Alb. Stad., ib. 348. Luden denies the story (xi. 341-50). The annalist of Marbach (A.D. 1180) says that Henry refused to assist the emperor except on condition of receiving the town of Goslar. Pertz, xvii.

despised and trampled on, were victorious. Frederick himself was unhorsed in the battle, and was missing until after some days he appeared again at Pavia.[t] By this humiliation, and by the exhaustion of his forces, the emperor was reduced to treat for peace, which all his adherents combined to urge on him. After much negotiation certain preliminaries were agreed on, and it was arranged that the pope should meet him at Venice—the Venetians and their doge being required to swear that they would not admit the emperor into their city except with the pope's consent.[u] Alexander embarked at Viesti on the 9th of March 1177, and, after having been carried by stress of weather to the Dalmatian coast, where he was received with enthusiastic reverence, he arrived at Venice on the 24th of the same month.[x] From Venice he proceeded to Ferrara, but on the 11th of May he returned, and in July Frederick arrived at Chioggia, where he remained until the terms of peace were agreed on. By these it was provided that the emperor should abjure the antipope, and that the imperialist bishops, on making a like abjuration, should be allowed to retain their sees. The Lombards were to yield the emperor the same obedience which they had paid to his predecessors from Henry V. downwards,[y] and admitted some of his claims as to allowances due to him when visiting Italy; while the emperor acknowledged

May 29, 1176.

[t] Otto Sanblas. 23; Card. Arag. 45; R. de Diceto, 591; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1175; Annal. Pegav. in Pertz, xvi. 261. For the date, see Muratori, Ann. VII. ii. 25.

[u] Pertz, Leges, ii. 147-50; Rom. Salern. in. Murat. vii. 219-26; Card. Arag. 45-6; Alex. Epp. 1252, 1256; Hard. VI. ii. 1656-7.

[x] Card. Arag. 54; Hard. VI. ii. 1655; Jaffé. Matthew Paris has a story that the pope, being in a storm at sea, put on his robes and, as vicar of Christ, repeated the Saviour's miracle of stilling the winds and waves; and that the emperor, on hearing of this, was awed into submission. Hist. Minor, i. 400 (Chron. and Mem.).

[y] The imperialists had wished to bargain for the relations which had existed under Henry IV. See Muratori, Annali, VII. i. 13. In his 48th Dissertation (Antiq. Ital. v.) Muratori gives many documents relating to the Lombard League.

their power to appoint their own consuls, to fortify their cities, and to combine for the defence of their liberties. Between the emperor and the papacy there was to be a perpetual peace; with the Lombards a truce of six years, and one of fifteen years with the king of Sicily.[z]

The emperor was then allowed to approach Venice, and on the day after his arrival there, he performed his abjuration in the presence of two cardinals. On the same day his first meeting with the pope took place in the great square of St. Mark's, where Alexander and his cardinals were seated in front of the gates of the church. The emperor, laying aside his outer robe, prostrated himself and kissed the pope's feet; after which he led Alexander into the church, and conducted him up to the choir, where he bowed his head and received the pontifical blessing. On St. James's day the kissing of the pope's feet was repeated, and Frederick presented him with valuable gifts; and after mass, at which he himself officiated, Alexander was conducted to the door of the church by the emperor, who held his stirrup as he remounted his white palfrey, and, taking the bridle in his hand, would have led the horse, had not the pope courteously excused the performance of that ceremony.[a] It is said that through the pressure of the crowd the pope was thrown off his horse, and that the emperor assisted him to remount.[b] These meetings were followed by interviews of a less formal

July 23-4.

July 25.

[z] Pertz, Leges, ii. 153-61.

[a] Hard. VI. ii. 1657-8; Card. Arag. 51-3; Gervas. Dorobern., in Twysden, 1438-9; R. de Diceto, ib. 598; Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1176 (Patrol. clx.); Romuald. Salern. (who was himself present, as representative of the Sicilian king), in Murat. vii. 232; Hoveden, 324. A story of the 14th century represents the pope as having placed his foot on the emperor's neck, while the choir sang—"Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder." (Ps. xci. 13.) Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1209; Fox's Acts and Mon i. 231, ed. 1684. But this, although maintained by Daru (i. 209), is now generally rejected. See Vittorelli, in Ciacon. i. 1079; Muratori, Ann. VII. i. 37; Mosheim, ii. 451; Schröckh, xxvi. 204-5; Raumer, ii. 176; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 417; Milman, iii. 536.

[b] Godef. Viterb., cited by Milman, iii. 537, from Pertz, 'Archiv.'

kind, at which the two unbent in familiar, and even playful, conversation;[c] and the peace between the empire and the church was solemnly ratified at a council held in St. Mark's on the 14th of August.[d] At his parting interview with Alexander, the emperor agreed to give up all the property of St. Peter which had come into his hands, except the territories of the countess Matilda, and a similar but less important legacy which the count of Bertinoro had lately bequeathed to the papal see. Frederick had acquired a new interest in the inheritance of the great countess through the gift of his uncle Welf, marquis of Tuscany, who, after having lost his only son by the Roman pestilence of 1167, had made over to the emperor the claims of the Bavarian house.[e] It had been agreed in the treaty that he should retain these territories for fifteen years longer; with regard to Bertinoro, he maintained that a vassal was not entitled to dispose of his fief except with the consent of his liege lord; and Alexander, at their last meeting, acquiesced in his proposal that this and other questions should be referred to three cardinals chosen by the emperor, and three German princes chosen by the pope.[f]

The bishops who had been promoted in the schism were in general allowed to retain their positions, on condition of submitting to Alexander. Christian of Mentz burnt the pall which he had received from the antipope Paschal; and his predecessor, Conrad, who had been deprived by Frederick for desertion to Alexander, was provided for by an appointment to Salzburg, in place of archbishop Adalbert, to whose

[c] Card. Arag. 53.

[d] Ib. 54; Pertz, Leges, ii. 155; Alex. Epp. 1304-8, 1310.

[e] See pp. 174, 193. This Welf, the VI[th] of his line, had the Italian part of the family territories, while his brother Henry the Proud, had the German part. He lived to 1195. (Art. de Vérif. les Dates, xvi. 116; xviii. 65.)

[f] Card. Arag. 56-7; Hoved. VI. ii. 1664; O. Sanblas. 21; Schmidt, ii. 633.

exclusion by the emperor Alexander was willing to consent.[g] Calixtus was now generally abandoned, and in August 1178 submitted to Alexander, by whom he was received with kindness and presented to a rich abbacy at Benevento.[h] A fourth antipope, Lando, or Innocent III., of the Frangipani family, was set up, but after having borne his unregarded title somewhat more than a year, he was brought to Alexander as a prisoner, and was confined for life in the monastery of La Cava.[i]

The increased power of Alexander, and the triumph which had crowned his long struggle against the emperor, were not without their effect on the Romans, who despatched a mission to him, praying him, in the name of all ranks, to return to the city. Alexander received the deputies at Anagni with visible satisfaction, but, reminding them of his former experience, required that the citizens should give him securities for their future conduct. It was therefore agreed that the senate should do homage and swear fealty to the pope, that they should surrender the royalties to him, and should bind themselves for his safety and for that of all who should resort to him; and in March 1178 he re-entered Rome amidst an unbounded display of enthusiasm on the part of his fickle subjects. The crowds of people who eagerly struggled to kiss his feet rendered it almost impossible for his horse to advance along the streets, and his right hand was weary of bestowing benedictions.[k]

In March 1179 a general council, attended by nearly three hundred bishops and by about seven hundred

[g] Gervas. in Twysden, 1439; Annales Erphesfurdt. in Pertz, xvi. 23; Ben. Petrib. Vita Henr. II., 237; Hard. VI. ii. 1669-70. Adalbert had succeeded an earlier Conrad (see p. 189) in 1168.

[h] Diceto, 601; Romuald. Salern. 244; Murat. Annali, VII. i. 39.

[i] Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1179 (Patrol. clx.); Chron. Fossæ Novæ, A.D. 1178-80 (Murat. vii.). Gregorovius says that Lando was of a family of little tyrants in the Campagna (iv. 563). In the chronicle of Fossa Nova he is called "Landus Sitinus."

[k] Card. Arag. 60.

abbots and others,[1] was held by Alexander in the Lateran church. Among the most important of its canons was a new order as to the election of popes. The share which had been reserved to the emperor by Nicolas II.[m] had already been long obsolete, and it was now provided that the election should rest exclusively with the college of cardinals, while, by adding to the college certain official members of the Roman clergy, Alexander deprived the remaining clergy of any chiefs under whom they might have effectually complained of their exclusion from their ancient rights as to the election.[n] It was enacted that no one should be declared pope unless he were supported by two-thirds of the electors; and that, if a minority should set up an antipope against one so chosen, every one of their party should be anathematized, without hope of forgiveness until his last sickness.[o] At this council also a crusade against heretics was for the first time sanctioned.[p]

During the last years of Alexander the affairs of the churches beyond the Alps were generally tranquil. The emperor was fully occupied in political business. Henry of England was disposed to maintain a good understanding with the pope, although he retained a virtual power of appointing to bishopricks, and used it in favour of persons who had been his strenuous supporters in the contest with Becket.[q] He pathetically entreated the aid of Alexander against his rebellious sons;[r] and we find the pope frequently mediating, by letters and by the agency of legates, between him and Lewis of France. Lewis became continually more and more absorbed in

[1] See Hefele, v. 632.

[m] See above, p. 256.

[n] See Mabillon on the 'Ordo Romanus,' Patrol. lxxviii. 916.

[o] Conc. Lat. III., c. 1. The canon adds that this rule is not to interfere with the custom of other churches, where a simple majority of electors is still to be sufficient; because such churches have an appeal to Rome in cases of dispute.

[p] Can. 27.

[q] See Life of Becket, ch. xiv.

[r] Ep. ad Alex. 32 (Patrol. cc).

devotion. In 1179 he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury, in obedience to visions in which he had been warned by the saint himself to seek by such means the recovery of his son Philip from an illness brought on by exposure for a night in a forest where he had been hunting.[s] Soon after his return the king was seized with paralysis, and on the 18th of September 1180 he died.[t]

After a pontificate of twenty-two years—a time rarely equalled by any either of his predecessors or of his successors[u]—Alexander, who had once more been obliged to leave Rome, died at Civita Castellana on the 30th of August 1181,[x] leaving a name which is only not in the first rank among the popes who have most signally advanced the power of their see.[y]

[s] Will. Armor. Philippid. i. 219, 321; Rigord. Gesta Philippi, in Bouq. xvii. 5; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1179 (Patrol. clx. 529); Bromton, in Twysden, 1139-40.

[t] Martin, iii. 503.

[u] Robert of Mont St. Michel reckons that he was only exceeded by St. Peter, who sat 25 years, and by Sylvester I. and Adrian I., who each sat 23 years (Patrol. clx. 537). Three later popes have exceeded him—Pius VI. (1775-1799); Pius VII. (1800-1823), and Pius IX., the only pope who has "seen the years of Peter."

[x] Helinand reports a speech by which it would appear that Alexander was conscious of defects in his qualifications for some part of his office—"Cum aliquando a quodam appellaretur bonus papa, respondit, 'Bonus papa essem, si scirem prædicare, judicare, et pœnitentiam dare.'" Chron. A.D. 1181, Patrol. ccxii. 1069.

[y] The Anchin continuator of Sigebert (Patrol. clx. 317) says that some "insipientes Romani" met his body on the way to the city, uttered curses against him, threw mud and stones at the bier, and would hardly allow him to be buried in the Lateran.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE LUCIUS III. TO THE DEATH OF CELESTINE III.

A.D. 1181-1198.

THE successor of Alexander, Humbald, bishop of Ostia, was chosen by the cardinals alone, in compliance with the decree of the late council, and styled himself Lucius III. The Romans, indignant at being deprived of their share in the election, rose against the new pope, and compelled him to take refuge at Velletri.[a] For a time he obtained aid against his rebellious subjects from the imperial commander, archbishop Christian of Mentz; but this warlike prelate died in August 1183—it is said, of drinking from a poisoned well, which proved fatal to more than a thousand of his soldiers;[b] and Lucius was never able to regain a footing in his city. The enmity of the Romans against him was of the bitterest kind. In 1184 they took twenty-six of his partisans at Tusculum, and blinded them all, except one, to whom they left one eye that he might serve as guide to the rest; they crowned them with paper mitres, each bearing the name of a cardinal, while the one-eyed chief's mock tiara was inscribed "Lucius, the wicked simoniac," and, having mounted them on asses, they made them swear to exhibit themselves in this miserable condition to the pope.[c]

Sept. 1, 1181.

[a] Murat. Ann. VII. i. 54. Giraldus Cambrensis reports an epigram against this pope—

"Lucius est piscis rex atque tyrannus aquarum,
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum.
Devorat hic homines, hic piscibus insidiatur;
Esurit hic semper, hic aliquando satur.
Amborum vitam si lanx æquata levaret,
Plus rationis habet qui ratione caret!"

Spec. Eccles. iv. 15; cf. Mut. Modoët. in *Pertz*, xviii. 462.

[b] See Bened. Petrib. 402; Hoveden, 354 *b*; Gregorov. iv. 568. There is a letter from Lucius to the German bishops, desiring them to pray that Christian's faults may be blotted out, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to the church in his last days. Ep. 115, Patrol. cci.

[c] Albert. Stad. in Pertz, xvi. 350; Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1184 (Patrol. clx.).

In the meanwhile Frederick made a skilful use of the time of rest allowed him by the treaty of Venice. His behaviour towards the Lombards became mild and gracious. By prudent acts of conciliation, and especially by concessions as to the choice of magistrates, he won the favour of many cities—even that of Alexandria itself, which in 1183 agreed that its population should leave the walls and should be led back by an imperial commissioner, and that its name should be changed to Cæsarea.[d] In June of that year, when the truce of Venice was almost expired, a permanent settlement of the relations between the empire and the cities was concluded at Constance. The cities were to retain all those royalties which they had before held, including the rights of levying war, and of maintaining their league for mutual support. They were to choose their own magistrates, subject only to the condition that these should be invested by an imperial commissioner. Certain dues were reserved to the emperor; and an oath of fidelity to him was to be taken by all between the ages of fifteen and seventy.[e] By these equitable terms the emperor's influence in Italy was greatly strengthened, while that of the pope was proportionally diminished.[f]

At Whitsuntide 1184 a great assemblage, drawn together not only from all Frederick's territories but from foreign countries, met at Mentz, on the occasion of conferring knighthood on the emperor's two sons, Henry, who had reached the age of twenty, and Frederick, who was two years younger. A city of tents and wooden huts was raised on the right bank of the Rhine, and preparations were made for the festival with all possible

[d] Reconciliatio Cæsareæ, in Pertz, Leges, ii. 181; Sismondi, R. I., ii. 426; Luden, xi. 453-4. Some cities of their own accord substituted podestàs for consuls, and adopted the rule that the podestà should be a stranger, as a precaution against the influence of local factions. Savigny, iii. 133.

[e] Pertz, Leges, ii. 175; O. Sanblas. 27; Schmidt, ii. 639-41; Hallam, M.A. i. 239; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 427.

[f] Schröckh, xxvi. 231.

splendour. But omens of evil were drawn from the circumstance that many of the slight erections were blown down by a violent wind, and a quarrel for precedence, which arose between the archbishop of Cologne and St. Boniface's successor, the abbot of Fulda, excited a fear that the scenes of Henry the Fourth's minority were about to be renewed. The difference was, however, allayed for the time by the prudence of Frederick and the young Henry, who, as the archbishop was withdrawing, hung on his neck and entreated him to return; and notwithstanding this untoward interruption, the festivities ended peacefully.[g]

In the following August Frederick proceeded for the sixth time into Italy. The charm of his appearance and manner was universally felt. The cities were all eager in their welcome; even Milan, forgetting its old animosities and sufferings, received him with splendid festivities, and was rewarded with privileges which excited the jealousy of its neighbours.[h] At Verona he had a meeting with the pope, who requested him to assist in reducing the Romans to obedience. But Frederick, who now had little reason to dread the influence of the pope in Lombardy, and was not attended by any considerable force, felt no zeal for the cause; and more than one subject of difference arose. On being asked to acknowledge the clergy who had been ordained by the late antipopes, Lucius at first appeared favourable, but said on the following day that such recognition had been limited by the treaty of Venice to certain dioceses, and that more could not be granted without a council. The old question of Matilda's inheritance was again discussed, and documents were produced on both sides, without any

[g] O. Sanblas. 26; Annal. Colon., A.D. 1184; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 9 (Pertz. xvi.); Gislebert. Montens. in Bouq. xviii. 373; Luden, xi. 464-5; Raumer, ii. 195-7.

[h] O. Sanblas. 28; Luden, xi. 471-2.

satisfactory conclusion.[i] Equally fruitless was a dispute as to the pretensions of two rival candidates for the archbishoprick of Treves—Volkmar, who had secured the pope's favour, and Rudolf, who had been invested by Frederick, agreeably to the concordat of Worms. The emperor's son Henry had exercised great severities towards Volkmar's partisans,[k] and it would seem that reports of these acts, with a suspicion of the designs which Frederick afterwards manifested as to Sicily, combined in determining Lucius to refuse to crown Henry as his father's colleague;[l] but he professed to ground his refusal on the inconvenience of having two emperors, and added a suggestion which has the air of sarcasm—that, if Henry were to be crowned, his father must make way for him by resignation.[m] The breach between the pope and the emperor appeared to have become hopeless, when Lucius died at Verona, on the 25th of November 1185.[n]

On the same day, Humbert Crivelli, archbishop of Milan, gathered together twenty-seven cardinals, under the protection of a guard, and was elected pope, with the title of Urban III.[o] The new pope, whose name was slightly varied by his enemies so as to express the turbulence which they imputed to him,[p] was of a Milanese family which had suffered greatly in the late contests;

[i] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 10; Luden, xi. 475.

[k] Arnold, Lubec iii. 10; Gesta Trevirorum, in Martene and Durand, Coll. Ampliss. iv. 214, seqq.; Gervas. in Twysden, 1479: Luden, xi. 476.

[l] Albert of Stade says that Lucius was himself willing, but was dissuaded by his cardinals. A.D. 1184 (Pertz, xvi.).

[m] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 10; Luden, xi. 477; Raumer, ii. 214. Yet Alexander III. had in 1171 urged the archbishop of Reims to persuade Lewis VII. to have his son crowned, citing the Byzantine empire as a precedent. Ep. 965.

[n] Jaffé.

[o] Urban. Ep. 12 (Patrol. ccii.); Ciaconius, i. 1123; Schröckh, xxvi. 233.

[p] They called him *Turbanus*—"eo quod, cum esset Mediolanensis natione, in odium imperatoris volebat turbare ecclesiam, quæ jam paulisper quietem acceperat." (Chron. Ursperg. 224.) The same witticism had been employed against Urban II. See vol. iv. p. 372

and private resentment on this account combined with his feelings as a citizen, and with the hierarchical opinions which had recommended him as a companion to Thomas of Canterbury in his exile,[q] in producing a bitter hostility against the emperor.[r] The disputes between the secular and the spiritual powers became more and more exasperated. Urban, in contempt of an oath which he had sworn to the contrary, consecrated the anti-imperialist Volkmar as archbishop of Treves.[s] As archbishop of Milan—for, out of fear that an imperialist might be appointed as his successor, he still retained that see—he refused to crown Henry as king of the Lombards; he repeated his predecessor's refusal to crown him as a colleague in the empire;[t] and he showed himself strongly opposed to those designs on Sicily which Lucius had suspected, and which were now openly declared.

Roger II., king of Sicily, had been succeeded in 1154 by his son William "the Bad," and this prince had been succeeded in 1166 by his son William "the Good," then a boy of fourteen.[u] The kingdom had been for many years a prey to barbarous and cruel factions.[x] William the Good had married in 1177 a daughter of Henry of England, but the marriage proved childless, and the Norman dominions in the south were likely to fall to Constance, a posthumous daughter of king Roger. With this princess Frederick formed the scheme of marrying his son Henry, although nine years her junior,[y]—a match

[q] Herb. Bosham. in Patrol. cxc. 1289.

[r] Gesta Trevir. in Mart. and Dur., Coll. Ampliss. iv. 210; Luden, xi. 478; Giesel. II. i. 96. A chronicler of Laon (but of English birth) says of him,—"Hic papa in tanta execratione Teutonicos habuit, ut eos a communi eleemosyna sua amovere præceperit." Bouq. xviii. 704.

[s] Gesta Trevir. 217, seqq.

[t] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 16.

[u] Giannone, ii. 425-7; Gibbon, vi. 366-7.

[x] See Hug. Falcand. in Murat. vii.

[y] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 14. Godfrey of Viterbo describes her as "speciosa nimis" (Pantheon, xvii., Patrol. cxcviii. 989); but other writers give a very opposite description (Raumer, ii. 215). Writers in the Guelf interest exaggerate her age, making her 55 or 60 at

which promised greatly to increase the imperial territory and power, and to deprive the pope of his chief supporter. The marriage was zealously promoted by Walter, an Englishman of obscure birth who had attained to the dignity of archbishop of Palermo;[z] Urban's opposition was vain, and his threats against all who should take part in the celebration were unheeded. At the request of the Milanese, who were eager to signalize their newborn loyalty, the nuptials were celebrated at Milan with great magnificence[a] in January 1186, when Frederick was crowned as king of Burgundy by the archbishop of Vienne, Henry as king of Italy by the patriarch of Aquileia, and Constance as queen of Germany by a German bishop.[b]

Other causes of difference concurred to inflame the pope. He complained of the emperor for detaining Matilda's inheritance; for seizing the property of bishops at their death,[c] keeping benefices vacant, and appropriating the income; for taxing the clergy and bringing them before secular courts; for having confiscated the revenues of some convents, under pretence that the nuns were of vicious life, instead of introducing a reform; and he denounced, apparently with justice, the cruelties and other outrages which the young Henry had committed towards some bishops.[d]

Frederick was now in great power, while the pope was

the time of her son Frederick's birth, and telling strange stories as to her marriage, in order that Frederick's birth may appear preternatural, and that so he may be made out to be the antichrist. See Annal. Stad. in Pertz, xvi. 357; Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1236; Corn. Zantfliet, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 94; Bianchi, n. on Dante, Parad. iii. 118 (Florence, 1854); Barlow on Dante, 338.

[z] See Pet. Bles. Ep. 66 (Patrol. ccvii.).

[a] The bride brought with her more than 150 horses, with loads of gold, silver, "et xamitarum, et paliorum, et grisiorum, et variorum, et aliarum bonarum rerum." Chron. Placent. in Pertz, xviii. 415.

[b] O. Sanblas. 28; R. de Diceto, 629; Murat. Ann. VII. i. 69-71; Giannone, ii. 523, seqq.; Luden, xi. 480-1.

[c] See as to the *jus exuviarum*, below c. xiii., i. 5.

[d] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 16; Urban, Epp. 43, 119.

still an exile from his city. It was in vain that archbishop Philip of Cologne, who had been appointed legate for Germany, endeavoured to assert Urban's pretensions, and to intrigue against the emperor; for the German bishops in general were on the side of their temporal sovereign.[e] At an interview with Philip, Frederick declared that it was enough for the clergy to have got into their own hands the choice of bishops—a choice, he added, which they had not exercised so uprightly or with such good effect as the sovereigns who in former times had held the patronage; and that, although the imperial prerogative had been greatly curtailed as to the affairs of the church, he was determined to maintain the small remnant of it which he had inherited.[f] The legate was forbidden to appear at a diet which was to be held at Gelnhausen in April 1186. There Frederick, in a forcible speech, declared that, in his differences with the pope, the pope had been the aggressor, and he inveighed against the Roman claims. It was, he said, ridiculous to pretend that no layman ought to hold tithes, inasmuch as the custom of thus providing for the necessary services of advocates of churches was so old as to have established a right. He asked his bishops whether they would render what was due both to Cæsar and to God; to which the archbishop of Mentz (Conrad, who, on the death of Christian, had recovered the primacy) replied, in the name of the rest, that they owed a twofold duty; that it was not for them to decide the matters in dispute, but that they would write to the pope, advising him to proceed with moderation.[g] They wrote accordingly, stating the emperor's case and their own view of the question;[h] and the pope, on receiving the letter, was astonished to find himself opposed by those

[e] Arnold. iii. 17.
[f] Ib. 18.
[g] Ibid.
[h] R. de Diceto, 632-4.

whose rights he had supposed himself to be asserting.[i] Frederick refused to admit Volkmar as archbishop of Treves, and shut up all the ways by which appeals could be carried to the pope; Henry continued his savage outrages, and endangered the pope's person—keeping him almost a prisoner within the walls of Verona;[k] and Urban, exasperated to the utmost, resolved to inflict the heaviest censures of the church on him. The citizens of Verona, where he had intended to pronounce his sentence, entreated that, "out of regard for their present service," he would choose some other scene; and at their request he removed to Ferrara.[l] But while he was there preparing for the final act, tidings arrived from the East, which once more set all Europe in commotion; and Urban died at Ferrara on the 20th of October 1187.[m]

The course of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had been alike discreditable and unprosperous.[n] The sympathies of western Christians for their brethren of the Holy Land had been greatly cooled by the experiences of the second crusade; the pilgrims were now few, and these were content to perform their pilgrimage without attempting or wishing to strengthen the Latin dominion, or to take part in the incessant contests with the infidels.[o] In 1167 king Amaury brought disgrace on the Christian

[i] Arnold, iii. 18.

[k] Ib. 16-17; Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 252.

[l] Arnold, iii. 18; Luden, xi. 493. See Pet. Bles. Ep. 211 (Patrol. ccvii.).

[m] Alb. Stad. A.D. 1189; Jaffé. "Nutu Dei percussus interiit." Chron. Ursperg. 224.

[n] The chief authorities for the account of the third crusade are the French continuator of William of Tyre (Patrol. cci.; the so-called Bernard the Treasurer, in Murat. vii., is mainly a Latin translation of this); the 'Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ,' commonly known as the work of G. Vinisauf, but supposed to be really by Richard, canon of Holy Trinity, London (in Gale, i.; and lately republished, with a very valuable preface, by Prof. Stubbs, in his 'Memorials of Richard I.'); the 'Anonymus' in Canisius, vol. iii.; R. de Coggeshalle, in Martene, Coll. Ampliss. v.; Richard of Devizes, de Gestis Ric. I. (English Histor. Society); Tageno, in Freher, i. (see Pertz, xvii. 499); James of Vitry, in Bongars, 'Gesta Dei per Francos"; Ansbertus, ed. Dobrowsky, Prague, 1827.

[o] Wilken, III. ii. 2.

name by attempting, in conjunction with a Greek force, to seize on Egypt in violation of a treaty; and in this treachery he was abetted by the knights of the Hospital, although the Templars—whether from a feeling of honour and duty, or from jealousy of the rival order—held aloof.[p] Baldwin IV., who in 1174 succeeded his father Amaury at the age of thirteen, had been carefully educated by the historian William, then archdeacon and afterwards archbishop of Tyre; but this young king's promise was soon clouded over by hopeless disease,[q] and his sister Sibylla became presumptive heiress of the kingdom. Sibylla, then a widow, was sought in marriage by many princes; but she bestowed her hand on Guy of Lusignan, an adventurer from Poitou, whose personal beauty was unaccompanied by such qualities as would have fitted him to maintain the position which it had won for him.[r] On the death of Baldwin IV., in 1185, the son of Sibylla's first marriage was crowned as Baldwin V.; but this boy died within a year, whereupon his mother and her husband, who before had met with much opposition, obtained possession of the kingdom.[s] The princes of the Latins were distracted by jealousies and intrigues; the patriarchs and bishops were in continual strife with each other, with the chiefs, and especially with the two great knightly orders, which, relying on papal privileges and exemptions, defied all authority, ecclesiastical or secular.[t] The Templars were especially detested for their pride, while they were charged with treachery to the Christian cause.[u] The general state of morals was excessively depraved. In Acre alone it is said that there were 16,000 professed

[p] Will. Tyr. xx. 4-10; Gibbon, v. 480-1.

[q] Will. Tyr. xxi. 1-2.

[r] Ib. xxii. 1; Ben. Petrib. 443; O. Sanblas. 29; Raumer, ii. 253; Wilken, III. ii. 196.

[s] Bernard. Thesaur. 148-50 (Murat. vii.); Raumer, ii. 260.

[t] Will. Tyr. xviii. 3; Arnold Lubec. iii. 24; Wilken, III. ii. 35-7; Raumer, ii. 231, 256-7; Vertot, i. 182.

[u] Wilken, III. ii. 263.

prostitutes.[x] The clergy and the monks are described as infamous for their manner of life.[y] Their chief, Heraclius of Jerusalem, who had been recommended to Sibylla by his fine person, and through her favour had been forced into the patriarchal throne, lived in open and luxurious profligacy with a tradesman's wife of Nablous, who was generally styled the patriarchess.[z]

The power of the Mussulmans was advancing. Noureddin, who died in 1173, was succeeded as their most conspicuous leader by Saladin, son of a Curdish mercenary, and nephew of Siracouh, a distinguished general, who under Noureddin had been vizier of Egypt.[a] Saladin, born in 1137, is celebrated, not only by Moslem but by Christian writers, for his skill in arms, his personal bravery, his accomplishments, his justice, his magnanimity, generosity, courtesy, and truth. In him, indeed, rather than in any Christian warrior of the age, may be found the union of some of the highest qualities which adorn the ideal character of chivalry. His piety and orthodoxy, although agreeable to the strictest Mahometan standard, were wholly free from intolerance.[b] Yet, superior as he appears in many respects to the

[x] "Sedecim millia meretricum, præter alias et occultas et similes in matrimonio constitutas, quarum statum solus novit Deus." Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ, MS., quoted by Raumer, ii. 258; cf. Will. Tyr. xxi. 7.

[y] Bern. Thes. 162; Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 254.

[z] Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 11; Bernard. Thesaur. 142-3 (Murat. vii.); Wilken, ii. 260; Bayle, art. *Heraclius*. William of Tyre opposed the election of Heraclius, and is said to have been poisoned by an emissary of the patriarch at Rome, where he was endeavouring to get it annulled. (Bernard, 142; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 10.) But it would seem that he was alive some years after the alleged date of this crime. Hist. Litt. xiv. 519; Herzog, xviii. 149; and p. 218 below.

[a] Will. Tyr. xx. 12; Gibbon, v. 482; Wilken, III. ii. 153.

[b] Gibbon, v. 482; Raumer, ii. 247. For the Oriental accounts, see Michaud, Biblioth. des Crois. iv. § 68. The writer who is known as Alberic of Trois Fontaines says that Saladin bequeathed money to the poor, Saracens, Jews, and Christians, in order that, if his soul derived no benefit from two of these religions, it might be benefited by the third—"Et ex hoc ostendit quod non ex toto fiduciam habuerit in lege sua Saracenica." Bouq. xviii. 758.

Christians of his time in general, Saladin will not endure to be measured by a standard which should make no allowance for the disadvantages of his training in the creed and the habits of Islam. The manner in which he superseded Noureddin's minor son would have been unjustifiable, except on Oriental principles;[c] nor did the humaneness of his general character prevent him from having occasional recourse to unscrupulous bloodshed for the accomplishment of his purposes.[d]

"If Noureddin was a rod of the Lord's fury against the Christians," says a chronicler, "Saladin was not a rod but a hammer."[e] In his earlier career, while extending his conquests in every direction, he had treated them with remarkable forbearance; but at length he was roused to direct hostilities by the continual attacks of some, who plundered the borders of his territory, and seized on caravans of peaceful travellers.[f] In 1187 he invaded the Holy Land at the head of 80,000 men, and the Christians sustained a terrible defeat at the battle of Hittim or Tiberias—fought within sight of the very scenes which had been hallowed by many of the gospel miracles. The cross on which the Saviour was believed to have died, having been brought from Jerusalem as a means of strength and victory, was lost.[g] The king and many of the Frankish chiefs were

July 5, 1187.

[c] See Gibbon, v. 482.

[d] See Döllinger, "Ueber Islam."

[e] Will. Neubrig. iii. 10.

[f] Anon. Canis. 500.

[g] According to some, it fell into the hands of the infidels (Coggeshalle, c. 7, p. 553; Vinisauf, i. 5; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 24; Will. Neubrig. iii. 10; and the oriental accounts in Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 195). But others suppose it to have been lost on the field; and there is a story of a templar who professed to have buried it, but, although men were set to dig three nights under his direction (as it would have been unsafe to dig by day), was unable to point out the place (Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 13. See Wilken, III. ii. 285-7). It was afterwards said that the sacred wood had been cut, and that, while part of it was lost at Hittim, the rest remained in the possession of the Christians (Bern. Thes. 186; Hist. Captionis Damietæ, 1, in Gale, i.). There is a curious story as to the manner in which a portion of it found its way to Genoa, in Pertz, xviii. 53.

taken, together with many templars and hospitallers, who, with the exception of the grand master of the Temple, were all beheaded on refusing to apostatize from the faith. Some of the captives, however, became renegades, and betrayed the secrets of the Latins to the enemy.[h] Animated with fresh vigour by this victory, Saladin rapidly overran the land.[i] Jerusalem itself was besieged, and, after a faint defence had been made for a fortnight by its scanty and disheartened garrison, it was surrendered on the 3rd of October.[k] The cross was thrown down from the mosque of Omar,[l] amid the groans of the Christians who witnessed its fall, and the building, after having been purged with incense and rosewater, was restored to Mahometan worship. Bells were broken into pieces, relics were dispersed, and the sacred places were profaned.[m] Yet Saladin spared the holy Sepulchre, and allowed Christians to visit it for a fixed payment; he permitted ten brethren of the Hospital to remain for the tendance of the sick, and even endowed them with a certain income;[n] and to the captives, of whom there were many thousands, he behaved with a generosity which has found its celebration rather among Christian than among Mussulman writers.[o] The terms of ransom offered to all were very liberal; fourteen thousand were set free without payment; and at the expense of the conqueror and of the Alexandrian Saracens, many

[h] R. Coggeshalle, cc. 11-14; Id. Chronic. p. 812; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 12; Otto Sanblas. 30; Vinisauf, 5; Ben. Petrib. 472-7; Hoveden, 362; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 24; Wilken, III. ii. 282-91; Michaud, iv. 57.

[i] R. Coggesh. 15-25.

[k] Coggeshalle (who was there during the siege), cc. 26-9; Id. Chron. A.D. 1187; Diceto, 640; Bern. Thes. 161-3; Wilken, III. ii. 299-311; Oriental accounts in Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 209.

[l] "Je ne di pas," says the continuator of William of Tyre, "que ce fu par le commandement de Salahadin." xxiii. 29.

[m] Coggeshalle, 31-2; Bened. Petrib. 509; Vinisauf, 9; Gibbon, v. 488.

[n] R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 256; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 26; Will. Neubrig. iii. 18; Ben. Petr. 509; Raumer, ii. 275-6.

[o] Michaud, iv. 64; Bern. Thes. 163-5.

Christians received a passage to Europe, when their own brethren refused to admit them on shipboard except on condition of paying the full cost.[p] The Syrian and other oriental Christians were allowed to remain in their homes, on submitting to tribute.[q] All Palestine was soon in the hands of the infidels, except the great port of Tyre, where Conrad, son of the marquis of Montferrat, arrived after it had been invested by the enemy, and, by his courage and warlike skill, aided by money which Henry of England had remitted for the defence of the Holy Land, animated the remnant of the Christians to hold out.[r] It was noted that the holy cross, which had been recovered from the Persians by the emperor Heraclius,[s] was again lost under a patriarch of the same name; and that as Jerusalem had been wrested from the Saracens under Urban II., it was regained by them under Urban III.[t]

From time to time attempts had been made by the princes and prelates of the Holy Land to enlist the western nations in a new enterprise for their assistance; but they had met with little success. The emperor, the king of France, and the king of England, were all engrossed by their own affairs; and, although frequent conferences took place between Henry and Lewis with a view to an alliance for a holy war, these did not produce any actual result beyond contributions of money, in which Henry's liberality far exceeded that of the

[p] Vinisauf, 9; Will. Tyr. contin. xxiii. 26-8; Bernard. Thesaur. 165; Wilken, III. ii. 314-18.

[q] R. Altiss. l. c.

[r] Anon. Canis. 501; Vinisauf, 7, 10, 12; Will. Neubrig. iii. 19; Sicard. Cremon. in Patrol. ccxiii. 517-18; Will. Tyr contin. xxiii. 14, 30-1; Hoveden, 362, *b*; Jac. Vitriac. 1119; Gibbon, v. 489. Although it is needless to relate here the story of Conrad's former adventures (see Nicetas, Manuel. v. 8; De. Is. Ang. i. 7), it may be well to remark that the representation of him in Scott's 'Talisman' is utterly unlike the real character of this warlike and ambitious adventurer. Sicard of Cremona bestows a curious collection of epithets on him —"Vir militaris et in re militari peritus, cautus et strenuus, fortis et audax, superbus, magnanimus et devotus, humillimus." Patrol. ccxiii. 530.

[s] See vol. ii. p. 410.

[t] Sicard, 518; Will. Neubrig. iii. 15, p. 250.

French king.[u] In 1184 the patriarch Heraclius, accompanied by the grand master of the templars[x] and the prior of the Hospital, bearing with them the keys of Jerusalem and of the holy Sepulchre, with the banner of the Latin kingdom, set out on a mission to enlist Europe to their aid. The templar died at Verona, but the patriarch and the hospitaller, fortified with a letter from pope Lucius,[y] went on to Germany, France, and England. The general feeling, however, was lukewarm. King Henry was told by his prelates and nobles that his duties lay rather at home than in the East, and he could only offer money; whereupon Heraclius indignantly exclaimed "We want a man without money, rather than money without a man!"[z] But the events which had now taken place aroused all Europe. The tidings of the calamity which had befallen the Christians of the East at once made peace between the emperor and the pope, between England and France, between Genoa and Pisa, between Venice and Hungary.[a] Urban III. is said to have been killed by the report of the capture of Jerusalem.[b] His successor, Gregory VIII., issued letters urgently summoning the faithful to aid their brethren in the East;[c] and on Gregory's death, after

[u] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1166 (Patrol. clx.); Ben. Petrib. 244; R. de Diceto, 599.

[x] This title looks oddly in Greek—ὃν Τεμπλουμαίστορα Λατῖνοι ὀνομάζουσι. Cinnamus, iv. 22.

[y] Ep. 182, Patrol. cci. There are many letters of Alexander III. in favour of the Holy Land—*e.g.*, Epp. 588, 590, 626-7, 1047, 1233, etc.

[z] Ben. Petrib. 425, 429, 434-7; Pet. Bles. Ep. 98 (Patrol. ccvii.); R. de Diceto, 622-6; Girald. Cambrens. de Expugn. Hiberniæ, ii. 26; Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 14; Pauli, iii. 175-6. The patriarch's speech may have been an allusion to Walter the Pennyless. Heraclius consecrated the Temple church, London, in 1185. Maitland, Hist. of London, 967.

[a] Murat. Ann. VII. i. 80-1.

[b] It is doubtful whether he lived to hear of it. But at least he knew that the battle of Tiberias was lost, that Saladin was advancing without a check, and perhaps that he had laid siege to Jerusalem. See Ben. Petrib. 473-7; Chron. Petrib. A.D. 1188 (in Sparke) Jac. Auriae in Pertz, xviii. 54; Murat. Ann. VII. i. 77; Raumer, ii. 277.

[c] Epp. 1, 4 (Oct. 27, 29, 1187), Patrol. ccii. Gregory was that Cardinal Albert who had been sent as one of the legates to Henry II., after the murder

a pontificate of less than two months, the cause was vigorously taken up by Clement III.[d] The cardinals bound themselves to give up all pomp and luxury, to accept no bribes from suitors, never to mount on horseback "so long as the land whereon the feet of the Lord had stood should be under the enemy's feet," and to preach the crusade as mendicants.[e] The king of Sicily vowed to assist the holy enterprise to the utmost of his power.[f] Henry of England, Philip of France, and Philip count of Flanders, met at the "oak of conference" between Gisors and Trie, on St. Agnes' day, Jan. 21, 1186. and, with many of their followers, received the cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tyre.[g] A heavy impost was laid on their subjects, under the name of "Saladin's tithe,"[h] and especial prayers for the Holy Land were inserted into the church-service.[i] William of Scotland offered to contribute money, but his nobles strongly withstood the proposal that they should be taxed in the same proportion as the English.[k]

In Germany also the crusade was preached with great success. A chronicler tells us that, at an assembly which was held at Strasburg, in December 1187, the cause of the Holy Land was at first set forth by two Italian ecclesiastics, but that their words fell dead on

of Becket. He is said to have had great designs of reform, but had no time to act on them. Chron. Ursperg. 230; Chron. Turon. in Mart. and Dur., Coll. Ampliss. v. 1030; R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 257; cf. Ep. 23.

[d] Will. Neubrig. iii. 22; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 27.

[e] Pet. Bles. Ep. 219; Hoveden, 362, *b*.

[f] Pet. Bles. l. c.

[g] Vinisauf, ii. 3; Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 25; R. de Diceto, 636; Ben. Petrib. 495-6. That this archbishop was the historian William, and consequently that the story of his having been poisoned some years before (see p. 213), is untrue, see Michaud, iv. 69. A cross is said to have appeared in the sky on the occasion. Hoveden, 365.

[h] Ben. Petrib. 496-8; Bern. Thes. 169.

[i] Ben. Petrib. 524. Rigord (25) gives the rules for the crusaders, drawn up by a council under Philip at Paris, in March, 1188.

[k] Id. 514-15.

the hearers. The bishop of the city then took it up, and produced a general emotion; but still men hesitated to commit themselves to the enterprise. When, however, one had at length set the example of taking the cross, the bishop began the hymn "Veni Sancte Spiritus"; and forthwith such was the crowd of people who pressed forward to enlist, with an enthusiasm which found a vent in tears, that he and his clergy were hardly able to supply them with the badges of the holy war.[l] In the following Lent a great diet, known as the "Court of Christ," was held at Mentz, where cardinal Henry of Albano appeared as the preacher of the crusade; and, although he was unable to speak the language of the country, his words, even through the medium of an interpreter, powerfully excited the assembly.[m] The emperor and his younger son, Frederick of Swabia, were the first to assume the cross, and were followed by an enthusiastic multitude of every class.[n] Thus the three greatest princes of Europe were all embarked in the enterprise. Frederick Barbarossa was now sixty-seven years of age, but retained his full vigour of body; his long contests had been brought to a peaceable end; and he might hope, by engaging in the holy war, to clear himself of all imputations which had fallen on his character as a churchman, and even to adorn his name with a glory like that which rested on Godfrey of Bouillon and his comrades in the first crusade.[o] Having accompanied his uncle Conrad on the second crusade, he was resolved to guard against a repetition of the errors by which that expedition had been frustrated. He ordered that no one should be allowed to join his force except such as were able-bodied, accustomed to bear arms, and sufficiently furnished with money to bear

[l] Annal. Marbac. in Pertz, xvii. 163.

[m] Henr. Alban. Ep. 32 (Patrol. cciv.); Ansbert, 12; Luden, xi. 510.

[n] Clem. III. Ep. 105 (Patrol. cciv. Anon. Canis. 503-4; Ansbert, 18.

[o] See Ansbert, 6-7.

their own expenses for two years;[p] carriages were provided for the sick and wounded, that they might not delay the progress of the army;[q] and Frederick endeavoured by embassies to the king of Hungary, to the Byzantine emperor, and to the Sultan of Iconium (whose adhesion to the Mussulman cause was supposed to be very slight) to assure himself of an unmolested passage and of markets for provisions along the route. From all he received favourable answers;[r] and, having taken measures to secure the peace of his dominions during his absence,[s] the emperor was ready to set out at the appointed time, in the spring of 1189.[t]

From Ratisbon, where the forces were mustered,[u] some proceeded down the Danube in boats into Hungary, where they waited for the emperor and the rest.[x] Through Hungary their passage was prosperous. King Bela welcomed the emperor with all honour, and bestowed large gifts of provisions on the army; it is, however, complained that the natives took unfair advantages in

[p] Otto Sanblas. 31; Annal. Marbac. 1188; Anon. Canis. 504; Vinisauf, 20. Luden blames these precautions, as shutting out those whose motives might be the noblest, cutting off the poor from the source of grace, etc.! (xi. 56.)

[q] Vinis. 20.

[r] Nicet. de Is. Angelo, ii. 3; Ansbert, 19; Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 794-6; Anon. Canis. 504-5; Annal. Pegav. A.D. 1189 (Pertz, xvi. 266); O. Sanblas. 31; Michaud, iv. 81. A letter addressed in the name of Frederick to Saladin, and one which is supposed to be the answer, are given by many writers; but their genuineness (or, at least, that of the former letter) is for the most part disbelieved. See Pet. Bles. Ep. 213; Hoveden, 370; Ben. Petrib. 535; R. de Diceto, 640-1; Vinisauf, 8; Anon. Canis. 504-5; Coggeshalle, 577-80; Schröckh, xxv. 129; Luden, xi. 70-2, 514; Raumer, ii. 282. Wilken supposes Saladin's letter to be genuine, but the other to be a forgery substituted for a letter which is lost. iv. 52.

[s] The genuineness of the letter for the peace of the empire, ascribed to Frederick, is questioned by Luden, xi. 698-700.

[t] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 28; Chron. Ursperg. 230-1.

[u] The numbers are so very variously given that it is unsafe to place any reliance on the statements. See R. de Coggeshalle, 53; Sicard. Cremon., Patrol. ccxiii. 521; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 29; Muratori, Ann. VII. ii. 84; Luden, xi. 518.

[x] Annal. Pegav. in Pertz, xvi. 266. Frederick left Ratisbon on April 9. Tageno, 6.

the exchange of money.[y] In Bulgaria provisions were refused at the instigation of the Greeks, and some of the crusaders were wounded by arrows; but Frederick by vigorous measures brought the Bulgarians to submission, while he restrained his own followers by strict discipline from plunder and other offensive acts.[z] But on entering the Greek territories, more serious difficulties arose.

The old unkindly feeling between the Greeks and the Latins had not been lessened by late events.[a] The interest which Manuel had laboured to create with the pope and the Italians had been destroyed by their reconciliation with Frederick.[b] Under Andronicus, who in 1183 attained the Byzantine throne by the murder of the young Alexius, son of Manuel, a great massacre of the Latin residents had taken place at Constantinople. In this atrocity the mob was aided by the usurper's forces; the clergy were active in urging on the murderers, and burst out into a song of thanksgiving when the head of the cardinal-legate was cut off and treated with indignity.[c] Isaac Angelus, by whom Andronicus was dethroned in 1185, had carried on friendly negotiations with Saladin, to whom, in consideration of the cession of some churches in the Holy Land, he granted leave to erect a mosque in Constantinople itself.[d] The Greeks, who from time to time had continued to attack the western sojourners at Constantinople,[e] were naturally uneasy at the approach of a formidable host, under a commander

[y] Arnold. Lub. iii. 29; Annal. Colon. 797; Otto Sanblas. 32; Append. ad Radevic. ap. Urstis. 560; Ansbert, 22, 26-7.

[z] Dietpold. Patav. ap. Tagen. 6; Ansbert, 26-9; Annal. Colon. 797; Anon. Canis. 506; O. Sanblas. 32. Some crusaders who afterwards overtook the main force reported that in Bulgaria they had seen the bodies of their dead brethren torn from the grave and hung upon trees. Anon. Canis. 509.

[a] See, *e.g.*, Vinisauf, i. 21.

[b] Gibbon, v. 365-6.

[c] Nicet. de Alexio, c. 11; Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 539, 542; Will. Tyr. xxii. 10-12; Gibbon. vi. 7-8.

[d] Bohaëddin, in Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 270; Vinisauf, 21; Gibbon, vi. 9, 471.

[e] Ansbert. 38-40.

so renowned as Frederick. Isaac himself was especially alarmed in consequence of predictions uttered by one Dositheus, who had acquired a strong influence over him by foretelling his elevation to the empire;[f] and, with a view of impeding the Germans, recourse was had to the arts which had already been tried in the former crusades. The patriarch had excited the populace beforehand by denouncing the strangers as heretics and dogs.[g] The bishop of Munster and other ambassadors whom Frederick sent to Constantinople were treated with slights, and committed to prison, where they were subjected to hunger and other sufferings;[h] notwithstanding the assurances which had been given as to supplies and other assistance, cities were deserted or shut up as the crusaders approached them; and they were harassed by frequent and insidious attacks of Greek soldiery.[i] It appears on Mussulman authority that the Greek emperor afterwards claimed credit with Saladin for having troubled the Germans on their expedition.[k] Frederick, from a resolution not to waste his strength in Europe, was desirous to avoid all quarrels; but finding himself reduced to choose between perishing by hunger and the employment of force to gain the needful supplies, he took Philippople, Adrianople, and other towns, in which he got possession of great wealth, with abundant stores of food. The Greek emperor, on hearing of these successes, changed his policy, restored the bishop of Munster and his companions,[l] and sent envoys of his own who were

[f] Nicet. ii. 4. Dositheus was for a short time patriarch. ib.

[g] Ansbert, 52.

[h] Annal. Colon. 97; Anon. Canis. 505, 510; Vinis. 21; Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 5; Ansbert, 41, 44, 52.

[i] Frid. ad Henricum in Mart., Coll. Ampl. i. 909; Anon. Canis. 507-9, 511; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 31; Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 3; Ansbert, 69. It is said that in churches and other buildings the crusaders found pictures which represented Greeks as trampling on the necks of pilgrims. Anon. Canis. 514.

[k] Bohaëddin, in Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 275.

[l] Ansbert, 58-9. *Procuratum* seems to be a misreading for *propinatum*.

charged to offer all manner of redress and assistance if Frederick would consent to hold the west on condition of homage.[m] The Byzantines renewed the old war of ceremony, treating Frederick as a petty prince of whose name they affected to be ignorant—as "king of the Germans," while Isaac was styled "emperor of the Romans." "Does your master know who I am?" said Frederick indignantly to the Greek ambassadors at Philippople: "My name is Frederick; I am emperor of the Romans, crowned in the city which is mother and mistress of the world by the successor of the prince of the apostles, and have held without question for more than thirty years a sceptre which my predecessors have lawfully possessed for four hundred years, since it was transferred from Constantinople for the inertness of your rulers. Let your master style himself sovereign of the Romanians,[n] and cease to use a title which in him is empty and ridiculous; for there is but one emperor of the Romans." This firmness had its effect, and Isaac submitted to address Frederick as "emperor of the Germans," and at length as "most noble emperor of old Rome."[o]

After a stay of fourteen weeks at Adrianople, where vigorous measures were employed with imperfect success to counteract the enervating influence of the plenty which had succeeded to the former privations,[p] the army again advanced, and at Easter it was conveyed from Gallipoli to the Asiatic coast in vessels furnished by the

[m] Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 5; Ansbert, 41-50.

[n] Ansbert, 53; Anon. Canis. 511-14; Otto Sanblas. 32-4; Annal. Colon. 798-9; Dietpold in Tageno, 7-8. It was not the imperial title of Isaac that was contested, as if there could be only one emperor in the world; but only his right to style himself emperor of the *Romans*.

[o] Ansbert, 54-5.

[p] Any person of either sex who was caught in an act of unchastity, after having been paraded about the town in very shameful guise, was ducked in the wintry river amid general derision. Ansbert, 65.

Greek emperor, who had agreed to make compensation for all injuries, and to bestow his daughter in marriage on Frederick's son Philip. The crossing of the Hellespont lasted seven days, and the whole number of those who crossed is reckoned at 83,000.[q]

The first few days of the march through Asia Minor were prosperous; but it soon appeared that the Greek emperor and the sultan of Iconium (who had renewed his friendly assurances by ambassadors who waited on Frederick at Adrianople)[r] were treacherous. No markets were to be found; the interpreters who had been furnished by the Greeks, and the sultan's ambassadors who accompanied the army, disappeared, after having lured the crusaders into a desert. The horses broke down from want of food, and their flesh was greedily eaten; while Turkish soldiers began to hover around in ever-increasing numbers, "barking around us like dogs," says one who was in the expedition[s]—threatening and harassing the army, but always declining an engagement.[t] Yet Frederick was still able to maintain discipline. The festival of Pentecost was kept amidst danger and distress. The bishop of Würzburg delivered an exhortation to the crusaders; all received the holy Eucharist, and on the following day they attacked and defeated a force commanded by the sultan's son.[u] On approaching Iconium, the emperor found that his advance was barred by a vast force of Turks,[x] who refused him a passage except on the payment of a bezant for every soldier in his army, while the city was closed against him. But although his cavalry were now reduced below a thousand, and were worn out

[q] Tageno, 10; Ansbert, 70-5; Annal. Colon. 799; Arnold. Lub. iii. 31; Anon. Canis. 515; Vinis. i. 22. See Raumer, ii. 290.

[r] Tageno, 10.

[s] Id. 11.

[t] Ansbert, 82-85, seqq.; Anon. Canis. 517-18; Otto Sanblas, 34; Append. ad Radev. ap. Urstis. 560-1; Annal. Colon. 799; Vinis. i. 23; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 32.

[u] Ansbert, 91; Anon. Canis. 520-1.

[x] The Appendix to Radevic reckons them at 200,000, p. 562; Tageno (12) at 600,000.

with severe sufferings from hunger and thirst, he boldly attacked the Turks, and defeated them with vast slaughter, while the younger Frederick assaulted the city, and compelled the perfidious sultan to surrender it.[y] As in earlier days, it is said that the crusaders were aided by a troop of shining warriors, bearing the red cross on their white shields, and headed by the martial St. George,[z] whose protection, with that of God, they had invoked before the fight. By these successes Frederick's fame was raised to the highest pitch throughout the east. The army, refreshed with provisions and enriched by the spoil of Iconium (although even there he compelled the observance of order and moderation),[a] made its way boldly through the rocky defiles of Cilicia,[b] and was pressing onwards with hope of speedily achieving the object of the expedition; when the hopes of Christendom sank, and the confidence of the Moslems revived, as tidings were spread that the great leader had perished in attempting to cross the river Salef or Calycadnus,[c] near Tarsus.[d] The loss to his army was

June 10, 1190.

[y] Anon. Canis. 523-5; Ansbert, 93-7; Sicard. in Patrol. ccxiii. 524; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 33; Vinis. i. 23-4; Append. ad Radev. 562; O. Sanblas. 34; Tageno, 12-13.

[z] Append. ad Radev. 561; Sicard. l. c.; Ansbert, 94.

[a] Nicet. de Is. Ang. ii. 7.

[b] "Quæ solis ibicibus et volatilibus vix accessibilia erant." Ansbert, 105.

[c] See Milman, n. on Gibbon, v. 476.

[d] The statements as to the cause of his death are various—that he caught a chill in bathing, that he was carried away by the force of the stream while endeavouring to swim his horse across, etc. See Arnold. Lubec. iii. 34; Ansbert, 103-4; Conrad Schyren. in Pertz, xvii., A.D. 1190; R. Coggeshalle, Chron. 188; Radulph. Niger, ed. Anstruther, Lond. 1851; Anon. Canis. 526; Annal. Colon. 800; O. Sanblas. 35; Ben. Petrib. 567; Hoveden, 403; Nicet. de Is. Angelo, ii. 8; Wilken, iv. 140-1. Benedict and Hoveden give much geographical information here. The Anchin chronicler says that Frederick was taken out alive, and, although speechless, survived three days, and received the last sacraments. A.D. 1190 (Patrol. clx.). According to Albert of Stade (A.D. 1191, in Pertz, xvi.), he exclaimed, while drowning, "Benedictus crucifixus Dei Filius, quod aqua me suscipit quæ me regeneravit, et me martyrem facit quæ fecit Christianum." On the other hand, Mutius of Monza says that he had taken the way by land because it had been foretold that he was to die by water. (Pertz, xviii. 467.) His enemies regarded his end as a proof that his intention in undertaking the crusade had not been pure. (Annal. Stedin

immense and irreparable. Discipline was no longer preserved. On reaching Antioch, multitudes fell victims to the heat of the climate, or to the intemperance with which they indulged in food and drink after their late privations. Many of the survivors abandoned the crusade and returned to Europe; and the younger Frederick died soon after his arrival at Acre,[e] where his appearance at the head of a force reduced below 5,000 had rather brought discouragement than hope to the beleaguered garrison.[f]

In the meantime some of the Germans, who had completed their preparations early, had taken ship for the Holy Land in anticipation of Frederick's march.[g] As in the second crusade,[h] many adventurers from Scandinavia and the north of Germany had assembled in the English port of Dartmouth, from which they sailed again with increased numbers; and, although these for the most part contented themselves with some adventures against the Moors of the Spanish peninsula, some of them found their way to Palestine.[i] William of Sicily despatched a fleet to share the expedition.[k] Henry of England, after having taken measures to secure himself a safe passage through Germany, Hungary, and Greece, had been prevented by a fresh rebellion of his son Richard,[l] and by other political troubles, from carrying out his promise,[m] and much of the money which had been collected for the holy war was spent in these

burg. in Pertz, xvi. 223; see Schmidt, ii. 649.) Frederick is well sketched by Mackintosh, i. 149-51. The Byzantine Nicetas pronounces a remarkable eulogy on him as a martyr. ii. 8.

[e] Jan. 20, 1191. Magnus, in Pertz, xvii. 518.

[f] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 34. Vinis. i. 24; O. Sanblas. 35; Gibbon, vi. 290; R. Coggesh. 33; Tageno, 14-15; Magnus, in Pertz, xvii. 517.

[g] Annal. Marbac. A.D. 1188 (Pertz, xvii.). Ansbert speaks with contempt of those who thus avoided the dangers of the land journey, 25.

[h] P. 141.

[i] R. de Diceto, 645-6; Vinis. i. 27; Hoveden, 376; Luden, xi. 518.

[k] Raumer, ii. 279.

[l] Bened. Petrib. 501-3; R. de Diceto, 636-9.

[m] Wilken, iv. 25.

unhappy contests at home.[n] But Richard, who had been the first of all the western princes to take the cross, on succeeding to the crown in July 1189, embarked in the enterprise with all the eagerness of his impetuous character. He submitted to penance for having borne arms against his father after having bound himself to the crusade.[o] To the money which was found in Henry's coffers[p] he added by all imaginable expedients, in order to raise means for the expedition. Bishopricks, abbacies, earldoms, and all manner of other offices and dignities, were sold.[q] The late king's ministers were imprisoned, and large sums were extorted for their ransom.[r] Some who repented of having taken the cross were made to pay heavily for license to stay at home.[s] The plate and ornaments of churches were seized and were turned into money. Some fortresses and territories which had been taken from the Scots were restored to them for a certain payment;[t] and the Jews were not only drained by exactions, but, as usual, were plundered and slain in the general fury against misbelievers.[u] The demesnes of

[n] Andr. Marcianens. in Bouq. xviii. 556.

[o] R. de Diceto, 646.

[p] See Lingard, ii. 244; Pauli, iii. 203.

[q] Ric. Divis. 12. See Stubbs, Introd. to Hoveden, vol. iii. "Omnia erant venalia, scilicet potestates, dominationes, comitatus, vicecomitatus, castella, villæ, prædia, et cætera his similia" (Ben. Petrib. 568). Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, bought an earldom, but was afterwards forced to resign it. (Will. Neubrig. iv. 1.) This bishop was excused from going on the crusade in consideration of paying 1,000 marks to the Roman court, "quæ nulli deest pecuniam largienti." M. Paris, Hist. Min. ii. 11.

[r] Ricard. Divis. 7.

[s] Ib. 9.

[t] Will. Neubr. iv. 5; Lingard, ii. 245-6.

[u] Henry, it is said, on account of their money, had encouraged the Jews, so that they became insolent and vexatious to Christians (Will. Neubrig. iii. 26, p. 282). Coggeshalle speaks of them as having houses "quasi palatia regum" (A.D. 1189). For the massacres of Jews at London (on Richard's coronation day), York, Stamford, Lynn, Bury, Lincoln, see Will. Neubrig. iv. 1. 7-10; Ric. Divis. c. 3; Hoveden, 379; Coggeshalle, l. c.; R. de Diceto, 647, seqq.; M. Paris, Hist. Min. ii. 9; Pauli, iii. 180. Jocelin of Brakelond (p. 33 and note—Camd. Soc., Lond. 1840), tells us that "multi per Angliam tendere Jerosolimam properantes prius in Judæos insurgere decreverant quam invaderent Sarracenos." He disap-

the crown were reduced by sales, and Richard declared himself ready to sell London itself if he could find a purchaser.[x] Both in England and in France the "Saladin's tithe" was rigorously exacted, and there were loud complaints of the unfairness with which the collection was managed.[y] The archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin, was zealous in preaching the crusade, and was himself among those who joined it.[z]

The kings of France and England had a meeting near Nonancourt on the 30th of December 1189, when they bound themselves by oath for mutual help and defence—Philip swearing to defend Richard's territories as if they were his own city of Paris, and Richard swearing to defend those of Philip as he would defend the Norman capital, Rouen.[a] The expedition was again delayed for a time by the death of Philip's queen;[b] but at midsummer 1190 the two kings, with the count of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy, assembled their forces at Vezelay,[c] where the second crusade had been

June 27.

proves of the butchery, because David had said, "Slay them not, lest my people forget it" (Ps. lix. 11); but Coggeshalle thinks that they were not unjustly punished for their insolence and oppressive conduct under Henry (l. c.). For the state of the Jews in France at this time, see Martin, iii. 517-18; Sismondi, vi. 8.

[x] Will. Neubrig. iv. 5; Ric. Divis. 12.

[y] R. de Dicet. 650; R. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 257; Vinisauf, 17; Gervas. Dorobern. 1529-30; Michaud, iv. 73. Peter of Blois cries out against Philip Augustus for taxing the clergy, from whom, he says, nothing but prayers ought to be expected. Epp. 112, etc.

[z] In the Life of Giraldus Cambrensis it is related that Baldwin's preaching had little effect in Wales; but that Giraldus, although he could not address the people except in Latin and French, enlisted great numbers, as Bernard had enlisted the Germans for the second crusade—"whence it is manifest that, through the divine power of the Spirit, working within and searching the hearts, the effect was wrought both here and there rather by things than by words." Gir. Cambr. ed. Brewer, i. 76. See Mr. Dimock's Pref. to Giraldus, vi. p. xlii.

[a] Ben. Petrib. 583; Hoveden, 378.

[b] Rigord, 29, where there is a description of Philip's taking the oriflamme at St. Denys on St. John the Baptist's day.

[c] See p. 133. It is said that many of the French nobles here offered to place themselves under Richard, but that he answered, "You shall not make me a cuckoo to bring up another bird's chickens, which will run off at their mother's voice and leave the cuckoo alone." Chron. Laudun. in Bouq. xviii. 708.

inaugurated by St. Bernard, and where Thomas of Canterbury had since made the great abbey-church resound with his denunciation of king Henry's counsellors. The side of the hill which is crowned by the town, and the broad plain below, were covered by the tents of the crusaders. The nations were distinguished by the colour of the crosses which they wore; the French displayed the sacred symbol in red, the English in white, and the Flemings in green.[d] At Lyons the host separated, and Richard proceeded to embark at Marseilles, while Philip, who had no Mediterranean seaport in his own dominions, went on by land to Genoa.[e] On landing at Ostia Richard was invited by the cardinal-bishop of that place, in the pope's name, to visit Rome; but, smarting from having been lately compelled to pay 1,500 marks for a legatine commission in favour of his chancellor, William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, he scornfully declared that he would not visit the source of so much corruption,[f] and proceeded by land along the coast to Terracina. The kings, as had been agreed between them, met again at Messina, where, during a stay of some months, Richard's impetuous and overbearing temper continually embroiled him both with the French and with the Sicilians—who, indeed, were not backward in offering him provocation.[g] At one time he even made himself master of the city, as a means of compelling Tancred, who had shortly before seized the government on the death of William the Good, to carry out the late king's

Sept. 23, 1190, to Mar. 30, 1191.

[d] R. de Diceto, 636; Vinisauf, ii. 6.

[e] Ben. Petrib. 590; R. de Diceto, 655. The kingdom of Aragon at that time extended along the coast to between Nice and Ventimiglia. Ben. Petr. 602; Hoveden, 380.

[f] R. de Diceto, 655; Hoveden, 380; Pauli, iii. 214; Gregorov. iv. 380. For Richard's route, see Wilken, v. 160-1; for his interviews with Joachim of Fiore, see chapter xii., sect. 3, below.

[g] Ric. Divis. 20, seqq.; Ben. Petr. 603, 606, seqq., 638, etc.; Hoveden, 383-4, 391-2; Vinis. ii. 12, 14, seqq.; Coggesh. 818; Wilken, v. 167, seqq. The English called the natives *griffons*, and in return were accused by them of having tails. R. Divis. 21-2.

direction as to a provision for his widow, the sister of Richard, and as to a legacy bequeathed to Henry II.[h]

In the end of March 1191 Richard again embarked, and after having established Guy of Lusignan as king of Cyprus, instead of a petty tyrant of the Comnenian family, who styled himself emperor of the island, and had behaved with inhospitality and treachery to the crusaders, he entered the harbour of Acre on the 8th of June.[i] Archbishop Baldwin, with a part of the English force, which had proceeded direct from Marseilles, and others who had made their way by the straits of Gibraltar, had reached Acre long before;[k] and the king of France had arrived there on Easter-eve (April 13).[l]

Acre had been besieged by the Christians from the end of August 1189,[m] but, placed as they were between the garrison on the one hand and Saladin's army on the other, the besiegers had suffered great distress through want of food and shelter. Horseflesh, grass, and unclean things were eaten; ships were broken up for fuel; many, unable to endure the miseries of the siege, had deserted to the enemy and apostatized; and scandalous vice and disorder prevailed throughout the camp.[n]

And now it was found that the general interest of Christendom was insufficient to overpower the jealousies

[h] Vinis. ii. 16; Ben. Petr. 612; R. Divis. 21-8. It is said that Richard gave Tancred King Arthur's sword, "quem Britones *Caliburne* vocant." Hoveden, 391 *b*.

[i] R. de Diceto, 660; Nicet. de Is. Angel. ii. 8; Ben. Petr. 644-50, 653; Vinis. ii. 35-41; v. 37; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 37; Bern. Thes. 178; Hoveden, 393; Ric. Divis. 60-1; Stubbs' Rich. I., ii. 347; Wilken, iv. 199-218; Finlay's Greece and Trebizond, 89-93. Guy of Lusignan was succeeded as king of Cyprus by his brother Amaury (afterwards king of Jerusalem), to whom Celestine wrote in 1196 about his labours to bring back the island to Catholic unity. Ep. 296 *bis*.

[k] R. de Diceto, 656; Ben. Petr. 567, 595, 644; Hoved. 380-1; Ric. Divis. 18.

[l] Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 33; Wilken, iv. 324.

[m] Wilken, iv. 254.

[n] Vinis. i. 66-7, 69-70; Hoveden, 376 *b*; Hubert (bishop of Salisbury, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), in Diceto, 658; Letter from a chaplain of Abp. Baldwin, Oct. 21, 1190, in Stubbs, Rich. I., ii. 328-9; Coggeshalle, 38; Jac. Vitriac. 1121; Michaud, Biblioth. iv. 299.

of those who had allied themselves for the holy war. Richard and Philip, Leopold, duke of Austria[o] (with whose troops the scanty remains of the emperor Frederick's army had been united), and others, all refused to act in concert, or to submit to a common head; the Genoese and the Pisans had carried their mutual hatred with them to the crusade; and to these elements of discord were added the pretensions of the templars and hospitallers, and the rival claims which Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat set up to the kingdom of Jerusalem on the strength of their having married daughters of the royal house, whose male heirs had become extinct.[p]

The siege of Acre lasted two years, during which it is reckoned that 120,000 Christians and 180,000 Mussulmans perished.[q] At length, on the 12th of July 1191, the city was surrendered, on condition that the lives of the inhabitants should be forfeit, unless within forty days Saladin should restore the true cross, give up 1500 Christian captives, and pay a large sum as ransom. The fulfilment of these terms, however, was found impossible within the time, and, notwithstanding Saladin's earnest entreaties for a delay, it was decided in a council of the princes that the forfeiture should be enforced. On the 20th of August, therefore, the prisoners—8000 in all, of whom Richard's share amounted to 2600—were led forth and remorselessly butchered in the sight of Saladin and his army, who could only look on in impotent distress. A few only of the more important Saracens were spared,

[o] Leopold had taken the route by sea, not venturing to pass through Hungary, with which he was at variance. Annal. Marbac. A.D. 1188, in Pertz, xvii.

[p] Vinis. i. 45; Hoved. 396 7; Jac. Vitr. 1121; Bern. Thes. 175; Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vi. 106. As to the date of Conrad's marriage, see Stubbs, Introd. cxxvi. 211.

[q] Martin, iii. 541. Al Bohaëddin says that in all 600,000 Christians were engaged, the numbers of their force continually changing. (Gibbon, v. 491.) For details of the siege, see Vinisauf, books i. and iii.; Coggeshalle, 34, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 489-90.

in the hope that they might be the means of recovering the cross or the captives.[r]

The English king's assumption, and his continual displays of contempt for his associates, produced general irritation and disgust.[s] To Leopold of Austria he had offered unpardonable insults, by throwing down his banner and trampling on it, as unworthy to stand beside those of kings, and even, it is said, by kicking him.[t] By this behaviour to their leader, all the Germans were

[r] Ben. Petrib. 663, 673-4; Hoveden, 396-7; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 37; Vinis. iii. 17; iv. 2, 4; Coggeshalle, 819; R. Divis. 68; Will. Neubrig. iv. 23; Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1191 (Patrol. clx.); Annal. Colon. in Pertz, xvii. 802; Wilken, iv. 390-3. The reason of Saladin's failure to perform the conditions is variously reported; as, that he could not find the true cross (Chron. Ursperg. 229); or that he would not restore it (Ric. Divis. 18). But an oriental authority says that the difficulty was as to raising the money; that Saladin had the cross in his camp; that he displayed it to two English envoys, and was ready to give it up, but that after the massacre he carried it back to Damascus (Michaud, Biblioth. iv. sect. 59; Wilken, iv. 392). Richard's share in the massacre is avowed by himself in a letter to the abbot of Clairvaux—"De Sarracenis quos habuimus in custodia circa duo millia et sexcentos, *sicut decuit*, fecimus expirare." (Hoveden, 398.) But it is unjust to represent this as an act of extraordinary ferocity in the English king, since it appears that the butchery was resolved on by a council (although this statement is said to rest on English authority only), and other chiefs (as the duke of Burgundy, who had got the French king's prisoners into his hands), did their share of it (Michaud, iv. 132; Sismondi, vi. 111). The statement, however, of Benedict of Peterborough (674), and Hoveden (397), that Saladin had two days before killed all his captives, in consequence of the refusal of a longer time, is extremely improbable in itself, and Richard's omission to state such a circumstance in justification of his own deed is conclusive against it. (Pauli, iii. 232. See Stubbs, Introd. 22.) The Cologne annalist says that as many as 2000 prisoners were spared. Anselm of Gemblours (in Pistor. i. 1000) speaks only of Richard's 2600 as killed. According to the Cologne annalist, one of the prisoners, an Emir, was—"homo miræ antiquitatis, ita ut tempore victoriosi ducis Godefridi extitisse, et 260 annorum esse diceretur." If so, he must have been nearly 170 years old in Godfrey's time.

[s] Otto Sanblas. 36. The Auersperg chronicler describes him as "homo ferocissimus, favorabilis [inexorabilis?] gloriæ cupidus, pecuniæ liberalis, quocunque ipsum trahebat sequens impetum, et quem ipsi Sarraceni et populus Christianus et alii timuerunt" (230). Cf. Ansbert, 109, 111. Nicetas styles him — ὁ τῶν πελεκυφόρων κατάρχων Βρεττανῶν, οὓς νῦν φασὶν Ἰγγλίνους. De Is. Ang. ii. 8.

[t] Ric. Divis. 67; Coggesh. 831-3; Annal. Colon. 802; Matth. Paris, ap. Wendover, v. 116; Hist. Min. ii. 30; Rigord. in Bouq. xviii. 36; Guill. Brito, Philippid. iv. 337-9. See Wilken, iv. 469-71.

offended; and both they and the Italians complained that the kings of France and England divided between themselves the spoils which had been taken, without allowing any share to the other crusading nations.[u] The Germans and Italians, therefore, left the army in disgust, shortly after the taking of Acre.[x] With Philip Augustus there were continual differences. The French king claimed half of Cyprus, on the ground that Richard had agreed to share with him whatever they might win in the crusade, while Richard denied that the conquest of the island, by his separate adventure, fell within the scope of the contract.[y] Philip, jealous of his great vassal, not only for his superiority in prowess and in personal renown, but on account of the greater splendour which his hard-raised treasures enabled him to maintain,[z] found an excuse in the state of his dominions at home for deserting the enterprise; and on the 31st of July—in the interval between the capture of the city and the slaughtering of the prisoners—he sailed for Europe.[a] On his way homewards he visited the pope, from whom he solicited absolution from the oath which he had taken, and had lately renewed, to protect the English king's dominions; but Celestine refused to release him. Yet Philip, on his return to France, invaded Richard's continental territories, encouraged his brother John to intrigue against him, and charged him with having caused an illness by which the French king had suffered at Acre, and with having instigated the murder of Conrad April 1192.

[u] Sicard, in Patrol. ccxiii. 539.

[x] Otto Sanblas. 36.

[y] Will. Neubrig. iv. 21.

[z] See Ansbert, 109, 111-13. Rigord says that Philip was jealous of Richard's exchanging messages and gifts with Saladin (Bouq. xviii. 36). "Richard," says M. Michelet, "est moins ennemi de Saladin que de Philippe-Auguste; et celui-ci déteste les Assassins et les Alides plus que les Chrétiens," ii. 424, ed. Paris, 1852.

[a] Coggeshalle, 819; Ric. Divis. 62, 63, 69; Rigord, 36; O. Sanblas. 36; Ben. Petrib. 670; Hoveden, 394, 397; R. de Diceto, 662; Pauli, iii. 228-9. Richard of Devizes says that the summons to France was got up in Philip's chamber. "Abraham remanente, recessit ab eo Loth." 69.

of Montferrat, who, immediately after having been elected to the throne of Jerusalem, had been stabbed by two of the fanatical body known by the name of assassins.[b]

Richard remained in the Holy Land more than a year after Philip's departure. During this time the "lion-hearted" king displayed the valour of a knight-errant in a degree which excited the fear and the admiration both of Mussulmans and of Christians.[c] A large part of the coast was recovered from the infidels; but the Christians were thinned by disease and by desertion as well as by war; their internal jealousies continued, and were so little concealed that the king of England and the duke of Burgundy hired ballad-singers to ridicule each other;[d] and the object of the crusade became more and more hopeless. Richard was entreated by urgent and repeated messages to return to his disturbed kingdom, while frequent and severe illnesses warned him to quit for a time the dangerous climate of Syria.[e] The necessity of abandoning the enterprise became manifest; and, after having

[b] Coggesh. 819; Vinis. iii. 21-2; Will. Neubrig. iv. 22, 24, 34; Hoveden, 397, 405; Ben. Petr. 669, 720; Nicet. de Is. Angelo, ii. 1. For an account of the assassins and their chief, the "old man of the mountain," see Will. Tyr. xx. 31. Richard is generally charged, more or less positively, with the murder of Conrad, by contemporary writers in the French and German interest, as the annalist of Cologne (A.D. 1192); Arnold of Lübeck (iii. 37); Sicard of Cremona (Patrol. ccxiii. 531); Albert of Stade (A.D. 1193); while English chroniclers declare the charge to be a foul invention (Vinis. v. 26: Hoveden, 407 *b*). The Auersperg chronicler states various theories (230). The letter professing to be written by the old man of the mountain, in exculpation of Richard (R. de Diceto, 680; Will. Neubrig. v. 16), is generally believed to be a forgery; but modern writers are almost unanimous in acquitting Richard of a crime so inconsistent not only with his virtues, but even with the faults of his character. (See Mackintosh, i. 185-7; Wilken, iv. 486; Pauli, iii. 235; Michaud, Biblioth. ii. 750.) Rigord says that Philip sent to ask the old man of the mountain whether it was true that Richard had employed assassins to kill him also; and that, on receiving an answer in favour of Richard, he dismissed his suspicions. 37.

[c] For a sketch of his achievements, See Gibbon, 492-3; and for details, Vinisauf, v., vi.; Coggeshalle, 827-30. See too Wilken, iv. 380-1.

[d] Vinis. vi. 8; Ric. Divis. 94; Michaud, iv. 159.

[e] Vinis. v. 42; vi. 27.

advanced within one day's march of Jerusalem, the king found himself obliged to yield, with a swelling heart which vented itself in loud expressions of indignation, to the force of circumstances, and to the spiritlessness of his remaining allies.[f] A truce for three years, three months, three days, and three hours, was concluded with Saladin in September 1192, on condition that pilgrims should be allowed to visit the holy places, and that the coast from Tyre to Joppa should remain in possession of the Christians.[g] It is reckoned that in the crusade which was ended by this compromise more than half a million of Christians had perished.[h]

On the 9th of October 1192 Richard sailed for Europe. From unwillingness to run the risk of passing through Philip's dominions, he intended to take his route through Germany; but having been recognized in the neighbourhood of Vienna, he was arrested and imprisoned by his enemy duke Leopold, who, in consideration of a large sum of money, made him over to the emperor Henry VI.—a prince who with much of his father's ability united a selfishness, a cunning, and a cruelty which were altogether foreign to Frederick's lofty character.[i]

[f] Ric. Div. 94, 97; Coggesh. 822-3. Joinville, in the next century, tells a story which is not in any of the contemporary chronicles—that, when Richard was prevented by the jealousy of the duke of Burgundy from advancing to take Jerusalem, a knight offered to point out the holy city to him; "et quant il oy ce, il geta sa cote a armer devant ses yex, tout en plorant, et dit a nostre Seigneur, 'Biau Sire Diex, je te pri que tu ne seuffres que je voie ta sainte cité, puisque je ne la puis delivrer des mains de tes ennemis.'" (Bouq. xx. 274; see Stubbs, Introd. cxxx.) From Joinville also come the stories that the Saracen women used to threaten their children with king Richard, and that Saracens said to their horses, when they started at anything—"Do you think that king Richard is in that bush?" (Bouq. xx. 204-5). A "Livre de la Terre Sainte" is cited for these stories, but the editors say that they do not know what book is meant.

[g] R. de Diceto, 668; Will. Neubrig. iv. 29; Arnold. Lubec. iii. 37; Bern. Thes. 196; Gibbon, v. 494-5; Wilken, iv. 569-71. Sicard of Cremona blames him for having omitted to stipulate for surrender of captives, and thereby having left the patriarch Rudolf in prison. Patrol. ccxiii. 531.

[h] Wilken, iv. 582-3.

[i] Coggesh. 833; Gervas. Dorob. 1581; Sicard in Patrol. ccxiii. 530-1; M. Par., Hist. Min. ii. 40. Otho of St.

After months of severe imprisonment,[k] the king of England was brought by Henry before a diet at Worms, on charges of having thwarted the emperor in his claims on Sicily, of having instigated the murder of Conrad, of having wrongfully seized Cyprus, and of having insulted Leopold and the Germans. To these charges he answered in a strain of manly and indignant eloquence, which extorted the respect and pity even of those who were most hostile to him;[l] but he was not yet set at liberty. Philip of France used all his influence with Henry to prolong his rival's captivity;[m] while the pope was urged by the importunities of the queen-mother Eleanor to interfere in behalf of her son.[n] The emperor demanded a large sum by way of ransom, and in order to raise this Richard's subjects—especially the clergy and monks—were again severely taxed. Chalices were melted down, shrines were stripped of their precious coverings and jewels, the golden ornaments were torn from the books employed in the service of the church. The impost was universal; even the Cistercians, who had until then been exempt from all taxes, were obliged to

Blaise (38), Albert of Stade (A.D. 1193), and Magnus of Reichersperg (Pertz, xvii. 549), all strongly hostile to Richard, tell strange fables as to the circumstances of his capture. Ansbert says only that he was taken "in vili hospitio" (114). See Will. Tyr. contin. xxiv. 17; Chron. Petriburg. A.D. 1193 (in Sparke); Pauli, iii. 250. There has lately been some dispute between certain German writers as to the cause of his arrest—Albert Jäger maintaining that the alleged insult to Leopold never took place, and that Richard was seized by Leopold in consequence of an order from the emperor; while Walmöser supports the older story (Hefele, v. 662). As to the emperor's possible motives, see Abel, 'Philipp der Hohenstaufe,' 19, 20, 31, 304-8.

[k] Luden, xi. 524-5; Giesel. II. ii. 102. Ralph de Diceto says that, although not in chains, Richard suffered greatly—"Homines siquidem regionis illius, barbariem maxime redolentes, horrent verbis, habitu squalent, immunditiis feculescunt, ut intelligas eorum cohabitationem ferinam potius quam humanam." 668.

[l] Coggeshalle, 833: Hoveden, 422; Will. Neubrig. iv. 33.

[m] Ansbert, 119-120: Will. Neubrig. iv. 40; Pauli, iii. 262; Martin, iii. 550.

[n] Three letters written in her name are among those of Peter of Blois. See Patrol. ccvi. 1262, seqq.; also P. Bles. Epp. 64, 143.

contribute the wool of their flocks.[o] After a confinement of nearly fourteen months, the king was able to return to his kingdom, which during his absence had been miserably distracted by feuds and intrigues; and in consequence of his complaints the pope excommunicated Leopold, and threatened the emperor and the French king with a like sentence.[p] The miserable death of Leopold, which took place soon after in consequence of a fall from his horse at a tournament, was interpreted as a judgment of heaven on his outrage against a soldier of the cross.[q] While Richard was in captivity the Christians of the east were delivered from their chief terror by the death of Saladin in March 1193.[r]

March 13, 1194.

Dec. 1194.

Clement III. had compromised the question as to the see of Treves by agreeing that both Volkmar and his opponent should be set aside, and that the canons should proceed to a new election;[s] and in 1188 he had been able to establish himself in Rome, by means of an agreement with the citizens, who were inclined to peace by finding that without the pope their city could not be the capital of Christendom.[t] But one condition of this com-

[o] Gervas. 1584; Will. Neubrig. iv. 38; Hoveden, 405, n.; Pauli, iii. 261. Stubbs, Introd. to Hoveden, iv., lxxxii. The emperor, alarmed by the general reprobation of his conduct, afterwards offered part of the ransom to the Cistercians, in order to provide chalices and censers for their churches; but they, out of regard for Richard, refused to share in gain iniquitously gotten. M. Paris, Hist. Min. ii. 58; Joh. de Oxenedes, 89.

[p] Cœlest. Ep. 193; R. de Diceto, 670, 672, 675; O. Sanblas. 38; Annal. Egmond., in Pertz, xvi. 171; Schröckh, xxvi. 246-8; Giesel. II. ii. 102-3. Hoveden (413) wrongly places the pope's intervention earlier.

[q] R. de Diceto, 678; Ansbert. 122; Coggesh. 837; Hoveden, 426; M. Paris. Hist. Min. ii. 53; Will. Neubrig. v. 8; Joh. Oxenedes, 88; cf. Magn. Reichersp. in Pertz, xvii. 421-3. Innocent III. endeavoured to get restitution of Richard's ransom from the representatives both of Henry and of Leopold. Epp. i. 230, 242.

[r] Gibbon, v. 49.

[s] Clem. Ep. 123 (Patrol. cciv.); Gesta Trevir. in Mart. Coll. Ampliss. iv. 223.

[t] Concordia inter Clem. III. et Senatores Populumque Rom., Patrol. cciv. 1507-10; Milman, iii. 544.

pact, which must have been felt as especially hard—that Tusculum, the city so faithful to the popes and so odious to their unruly subjects, should be given up to the Romans—remained unfulfilled when Clement died, in March 1191. In his room was chosen Hyacinth, a man eighty-five years old, who had been a member of the college of cardinals for nearly half a century.[u] At the time when the election took place, Henry VI. was advancing towards Rome to claim the imperial crown, and it was resolved to take advantage of the occasion in order to gain some object at his hands. The pope deferred his own consecration, in order that he might be the better able to negotiate;[x] a deputation of the Romans went forth to treat with Henry as he approached the city; and it was agreed that Tusculum should be given up. On Good Friday, Henry, without any warning to the Tusculans, withdrew the garrison with which, at their request, he had furnished them; whereupon the Romans rushed in through the open gates, razed the castle, destroyed the town so completely that no vestige of buildings later than the old imperial times is now to be seen, and glutted their hatred by deeds of savage cruelty.[y] On Easter-day the pope was consecrated under the name of Celestine III., and on the two following days Henry and Constance were severally crowned by him in St. Peter's.[z]

March 30.

April 14-16.

[u] Ciaconius, i. 1019.

[x] Arnold. Lubec. iv. 4; Schröckh, xxvi. 241; Luden, xi. 547.

[y] Otto Sanblas. 33; Arnold. Lubec. iv. 4; Hoveden, 393; Milman, iii. 547; Gregorov. iv. 584-5. It is commonly said that the few inhabitants who escaped made huts of boughs (*frasche*) and that hence the modern town of Frascati derives its name (Murat. Ann. VII. i. 95; Sismondi, R. I. ii. 41; Raumer, ii. 357). But the name repeatedly occurs in Anastasius the Librarian, a writer of the 9th century (see the index to Patrol. cxxviii.); and the author of the 'Hand book for Rome' (p. 362, ed. 1862) is probably correct in saying that it "was given to the hill as early as the 8th century, as a spot covered with trees and bushes." Cf. Burn, 'Rome and the Campagna,' 380.

[z] Arnold. Lubec. iv. 4. The ceremony is described at great length in

The emperor advanced towards the south, where, on the death of William the Good, in 1189, the inheritance of Constance had been seized by an illegitimate grandson of the first Norman king, Tancred, count of Lecce, who had received investiture from Pope Clement.[a] Henry took Naples after a siege of three months, and reduced the continental part of the Norman territories; but his army was ravaged by a pestilence, and his own health was so seriously affected that he was compelled to retire to Germany, while his empress, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, remained in captivity until she was at length delivered through the intercession of the pope.[b] After the death of Tancred, who kept possession of his crown until 1193, Henry appeared in Sicily at the head of a large army, hired with the king of England's ransom, and chiefly composed of soldiers who had been enlisted for a new crusade. A Genoese fleet co-operated with his land force; the discords between the Saracen and the Norman inhabitants favoured his enterprise; and after a short resistance he made himself master of the island.[c] His triumphal entry into Palermo was welcomed with a signal display of the wealth and luxury of the Sicilian Normans.[d] But almost immediately after this a fearful

A.D. 1194.

Pertz, Leges, ii. 187-93. Roger of Hoveden says that the crowns were placed between the pope's feet, and that the emperor and empress bowed down to receive them; that the pope kicked the crown off Henry's head, "significans quod ipse potestatem ejiciendi eum ab imperio habet, si ille demeruerit;" and that it was picked up and set on again by the cardinals (392 *b*). But the tale is unsupported by any other writer of the time, and is universally rejected. See Muratori, VII. i. 94; Gibbon, v. 369; Planck, iv. 447; Milman, iii. 546; Luden, xi 710, etc.

[a] Arnold. Lubec. iv. 5; Ric. Sangerman. in Murat. vii. 471; Giannone, ii. 439, 527; iii. 2; Raumer, ii. 350-1.

[b] Annal. Stederb. in Pertz, xvi. 224; O. Sanblas. 37; Alb. Stad. A.D. 1192 Anselm. Gembl. in Pistor. i. 1000-1003; Raumer, ii. 358-9; Milman, iii. 548.

[c] O. Sanblas. 38-9; Gesta Innocentii, 18 (Patrol. 213); Annal. Genuenses, in Muratori, vi. 368-70; Pertz, xviii. 108-10; Giannone, iii. 13, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 368-9.

[d] O. Sanblas. 40; Luden, xii. 8-9.

series of severities began. Letters were produced which professed to implicate the leading men of the island in a conspiracy against the Germans; and Henry, in consequence, let loose without restraint the cruelty which was one of his most prominent characteristics. Clergy and nobles in great numbers were put to death by hanging, burning, and drowning, or were blinded or barbarously mutilated.[e] William, the young son of Tancred, after having been deprived of his eyesight,[f] was shut up in a castle of the Vorarlberg, where he died obscurely.[g] His mother and sisters were committed to German prisons. The bodies of Tancred and his son Roger were plucked from their graves, and treated with revolting indignity. It was in vain that the pope, the queen-mother of England, and other important persons, remonstrated with Henry, and even (it is said) that Celestine denounced him excommunicate.[h] The wealth of the Norman kings and of all who were accused as parties in the conspiracy was seized; and it is said that, after large gifts to Henry's numerous soldiery, the splendid robes, the precious metals, and the gems which remained were a load for 160 horses and mules.[i] By means of this treasure, and of concessions to the princes of Germany, Henry formed a design of securing the crown as hereditary in his family. But although he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the electors to the succession of his son Frederick, who had been born at Jesi in December 1194,[k] and

A.D. 1196.

[e] O. Sanblas. 39; Henr. ad. Walter. Rothom. ap. R. de Diceto, 678; Giannone, iii. 16-17; Luden, xii. 10, seqq. The accusations are generally supposed to have been forged. Murat. Ann. VII. i. 114; Luden, xii. 12.

[f] The stories of other cruelties exercised on him are doubtful. Raumer, i. 378; Luden, xii. 13.

[g] O. de S. Blas. 41; Luden, xii. 13. The biographer of Innocent III. says that Henry had decoyed William by swearing to give him the county of Lecce and the principality of Taranto. C. 18 (Patrol. ccxiii.).

[h] Giannone, iii. 17; Milm. iii. 551; Raumer, ii. 371.

[i] Arnold, Lubec. iv. 20; Luden, xii. 14.

[k] Dec. 26. Raumer, ii. 378.

was not yet baptized,[l] the opposition to his further project was so strong that Henry found it expedient to withdraw the proposal.[m]

The death of Saladin and the inferior capacity of his successor, Malek al Adel, held out inducements to a new crusade. With a view of stirring up the faithful, Celestine wrote letters and sent legates in all directions;[n] and the emperor actively forwarded the enterprise, in the hope, probably, that he might thus clear his ecclesiastical reputation. He advocated the crusade eloquently in diets at Gelnhausen and Worms, where his exhortations were followed up by speeches from cardinals and bishops; princes and prelates responded by taking the cross, and their example was followed by knights, burghers, and men of humbler condition.[o] In France, Philip Augustus made use of the crusade as a pretext for heavy exactions, but with the intention of converting the produce to his own purposes.[p] But the truest crusader among the sovereigns of the age, Richard of England, although he had never laid aside the cross, and burned with desire to complete the work which he had before so reluctantly abandoned by a fresh campaign against the infidels, found himself so much hampered by the exhaustion of his people, and by the continual petty

[l] Gesta Innoc. III. c. 19 (Patrol. ccxiv.). His baptism, which had been deferred in order that he might receive it from the pope, is said to have been celebrated at Assisi, on St. John's eve 1195, in the presence of 15 cardinals and bishops. (Albert. Stad. A.D. 1195; Murat. Ann. VII. i. 113.) But the date is doubtful.

[m] See Luden, xii. 28-9; Schmidt, ii. 660; Raumer, ii. 384-5; Reiner. A.D. 1196 (Pertz, xvi.); Annal. Colon. A.D. 1196; Annal. S. Trudperti, A.D. 1197 (Pertz, xvii.).

[n] Celest. Epp. 224, 238, etc.; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1195.

[o] Arnold. Lubec. v. 1; Michaud, iv. 192-3.

[p] Sismondi, v. 153-5. William of Newburgh relates that John, archbishop of Lyons, an Englishman, who had been one of Becket's chief confidants, on re-visiting his native country, checked some clergymen who were complaining of their king by telling them that in comparison of Philip he was a hermit; and added that Philip had paid the whole cost of his war against Richard in the preceding year by extortion from monasteries. v. 3.

warfare in which he was engaged with Philip, that he could take no share in the enterprise.[q] It was in vain that Celestine, in a letter to the English bishops, forbade the tournaments which had been instituted by the king with a view to military training;[r] that he desired those who wished for martial exercise to seek it, not in festive contests unsuited to the sadness of the time, but in warring against the enemies of Christ.[s]

In his ecclesiastical policy Henry showed himself resolved to yield nothing to the papacy. He forbade appeals to Rome, and prevented his subjects from any access to the papal court.[t] He attempted to revive the imperial privilege of deciding in cases of disputed election to bishopricks. In the case of a contest for Liége, he is supposed to have instigated the murder of a candidate who was favoured by the pope and had been consecrated by the archbishop of Reims.[u] He refused to pay the homage which the Norman princes had performed to the pope for their Italian and Sicilian territories,[x] and, returning into Italy, he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, up to the very gates of the city.[y] The pope had ceased for a time to hold correspondence with him, but now addressed him in a strain of apology mixed with complaint, and urged him to forward the crusade.[z] At Bari the emperor, at Easter 1195, entered into an engagement to maintain 1500 cavalry and a like number of foot[a] in the Holy Land for a year;[b] but the zeal with which he urged

[q] Michaud, iv. 189; Sismondi, v. 169.

[r] Will. Neubrig. v. 4.

[s] Ep. 102, Jan. 11, 1193. (Patrol. ccvi.).

[t] Innoc. III. Ep. 29, de Negot. Imperii (Patrol. ccxvi. 1029); Vita S. Bernardi, in Leibnit. i. 474.

[u] Ægid. Aureæ-Vall. in Bouq. xviii. 047-51; Gisleb. Montensis, ib. 413, 422; Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1192 (Patrol. clx.); Schmidt, ii. 654-5; Luden, xi. 557-61.

[x] Innoc. III., Patrol ccxvi. 1026, C.

[y] Ib. 1029; Gesta Innoc. 8 (Patrol. ccxiv.).

[z] Ep. 207, March, 1195.

[a] "Sarganti." See Ducange, s. v *Serviens*, p. 209.

[b] Pertz, Leges, ii. 198.

on his preparations had probably other objects—that of diverting the crusaders, as before, to his own purposes, and even of using them against the Byzantine empire.[c] But these designs were unexpectedly cut short. Henry, after having crossed into Sicily, discovered a new conspiracy against him, and in vengeance for it resumed the cruelties which had made him so deeply detested in that island; but on the 28th of September 1197 he suddenly died, most probably in consequence of a chill produced by having drunk some water while heated by hunting.[d] But as it is certain that Constance had been greatly shocked and offended by his severities towards her countrymen, and even towards some of her own near relations,[e] it was generally believed that the emperor fell a victim to poison administered by his own wife.[f]

The crusade which Henry had contributed to set on foot was carried on without any religious enthusiasm. The Germans did not co-operate with the Latins of the East, but, "thinking only of the fertile coasts, and not heeding that Jerusalem should be trodden down of the

[c] Otto Sanblas. 43; Arn. Lubec. v. 21. Nicetas tells us that the Byzantine usurper Alexius endeavoured to buy him off; that in order to raise money for this purpose bodies in their graves were stripped of their ornaments, and that even the tomb of the great Constantine would have been thus violated and plundered, but for the tidings of Henry's death. Pp. 627-34, ed. Bonn.

[d] Rob. Altissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 262; Annal. Argentin. in Böhmer, Fontes Rer. Germ. ii. 100. See Coggesh. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 842.

[e] Annal. Colon., A.D. 1197; Annal. Marbac., A.D. 1197; Arnold. Lub. v. 1; Giannone, iii. 20-1.

[f] The Auersperg chronicler mentions this, but says that it was denied by those who knew best (233). See Arnold. Lubec. (who speaks mysteriously), v. 1; Hoveden, 439, n.; Hermann. Altahens. in Böhmer, Fontes, ii. 492; Giannone, iii. 21; Luden, xii. 29-35; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. ii. 20-1; Raumer, ii. 390; Milman, iii. 552. Hoveden (440), and Gualvaneus Flamma (c. 227, in Mur. xi.) say, that Henry died excommunicate; but Muratori shows that this was probably at most an implicit excommunication (VII. i. 125; cf. Gieseler, II. ii. 103; Abel 'Philipp d. Hohenstaufe,' 315). Anselm of Gemblours says of Henry—"Hic statura personalis non fuit, sed litteratura ejus, magnanimitas, justitia et prudentia pulchritudinem Absalonis superavit" (Pistor. i. 1010); and even in late times the emperor has found champions, who were perhaps stimulated by the difficulties of his cause.

Gentiles,"[g] were wholly intent on gaining advantages for themselves. They achieved considerable successes, although not without loss, and recovered the sea-coast.[h] But their conquests were fruitless, and they engaged in fierce quarrels with the Templars, each party charging the other with having sold the interests of Christendom.[i] On receiving the tidings of Henry's death the crusaders resolved to return home; and, notwithstanding the pope's entreaties that they would not abandon the holy enterprise, they carried out their resolution, after having concluded a truce of six years with the infidels.[k] In endeavouring to make their way homewards by way of Sicily and Apulia, many of them were slain by the inhabitants on account of their connexion with the detested emperor.[l]

Celestine III. survived Henry only a few months, and died on the 8th of January 1198.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREEK CHURCH—SPAIN—BRITISH CHURCHES—THE NORTH—MISSIONS.

I. The Greek Church of the twelfth century hardly requires notice, except in so far as it was brought into contact with the Christians of the West. Its state was generally one of torpor. The clergy were held in strict

[g] O. Sanblas. 42.

[h] Bern. Thes. 181; Michaud, iv. 195-9, 208-13, 217. See Wilken, vol. v. cap. 1.

[i] O. Sanblas. 41; Annal. Colon. 805; Arnold. Lubec. v. 3; Albert Stad. A.D. 1198; Innoc. III., Ep. 336; Michaud, iv. 214-19.

[k] Will. Tyr. contin. xxiv. 25; Michaud, iv. 217; Hurter, i. 218-19.

[l] O. Sanblas. 42.

subjection by the secular power, so that a patriarch, on attempting to withdraw a monk from secular judgment, was met by the declaration that "the emperor's authority can do everything."[a] They were devoted to a system of forms which in great part had lost their significance. Among the monks there was very commonly a forgetfulness of the true meaning of their profession; yet there was much of fantastic asceticism, as among the dendrites or tree-monks, the pillar-monks (who, however, were not so called from living on the tops of pillars, like the stylites of earlier days, but from inhabiting narrow pillar-like cells, or from carrying little columns as a burden),[b] the fanatics who buried their living bodies in the earth, and those who aimed at sanctity by a profession of more than the ordinary monastic filthiness.[c] The Gnosimachi denounced all endeavour after knowledge in religion, on the ground that God requires nothing of man but good works, and prefers simplicity to curiosity.[d] And while among the people there lingered, by the side of their Christianity, much of uneradicated heathen superstition,[e] there were some who, by the study of classical literature, were led back into an adoption of the old pagan creed.[f] Thus we are told of an Italian named John, who in the reign of Alexius Comnenus became popular as a professor at Constantinople, and taught the transmigration of souls, and the Platonic doctrine of ideas. One of this man's disciples is said to have thrown himself into the sea, exclaiming, "Receive me, O Poseidon!" But the teacher himself, after having been subjected to the pressure of both ecclesiastical

[a] Balsamon in Bevereg. Synodicon, i. 531, E.

[b] The former were στυλίται, the latter κιονῖται. Eustathius, p. 189, ed. Tafel.

[c] ἀνιπτόποδες, ὑπτῶντες, etc. Ibid.; Neander, viii. 245-6; cf. G. Pachymeres, iv. 12.

[d] Nicetas, Thesaur. Orthodox. iv. 39 (Bibl. Patr. Lugd. xxv. 142).

[e] Ib. c. 42, p. 143.

[f] Nicol. Methon., Refutatio Procli, quoted by Gieseler, II. ii. 667.

and imperial authority, consented to renounce his errors.[g]

Those revivals and reformations of monachism which were continually renewed in the West had no parallel in the Greek church, where the only measures of reform were the occasional attempts of the emperors to recall the monks to their spiritual duties by means which had very much the nature of confiscation. Thus Manuel found fault with his predecessors for having enriched monasteries with lands, and revived an edict of Nicephorus Phocas[h] against such endowments. And in order to exemplify what monachism ought to be, if freed from secular business, he removed a number of the best monks from the "Siren-like" temptations of Constantinople to a monastery which he had built in the gorges of Pontus —allowing them merely a sufficient supply for the necessities of food and clothing.[i]

Yet it deserves to be mentioned, to the credit of the age, that under the Comnenian emperors a spirit of learning revived.[k] A college of twelve professors presided over the studies of Constantinople, both in general literature and in theology:[l] and the Greek church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was adorned, if not by any original genius, yet by the industry and knowledge of such writers as the commentator Theophylact, Nicetas, bishop of Chonæ or Colosse, Nicolas, bishop of Methone, Euthymius Zigadenus, Michael Psellus the younger, and Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica.[m]

The imperial system had a tendency to encroach on the province of theology, and this was especially danger-

[g] Anna Comnena, l. v. pp. 143-9, ed. Paris; Tafel, Suppl. ad A. Comn., Tübing. 1832, p. xi.; Nicetas, ib. 2.

[h] Balsamon, in Beveridge, Synodic. i. 333.

[i] Nicet. de Manuele, vii. 3.

[k] Anna Comn. l. v. p. 144.

[l] Anselm. Havelb., Patrol. clxxxviii. 1141.

[m] Neand. viii. 247; Giesel. II. ii. 663. As to Eustathius, see Nicetas de Andronico, i. 9.

ous under those emperors who supposed themselves to be skilled in theological questions. They were not, says Nicetas,[n] content to enjoy the pomps of empire, with the unrestrained power and privileges of despotism, unless they were also supposed to be, like Solomon, heaven-taught authorities on things divine and human. Thus, as we shall see hereafter, Alexius I. disputed with the Paulicians and with the Bogomiles.[o] His grandson Manuel, in addition to his warlike talents, was possessed of eloquence and literary accomplishments,[p] and although he is charged with adultery, and even with incest,[q] was especially fond of mixing in theological controversies. One of those in which he took part related to a passage in the public liturgy, where Christ was said to be at once priest and sacrifice.[r] After much discussion, the emperor was persuaded to give A.D. 1066. his adhesion to the form, and many eminent ecclesiastics who took the opposite side were deprived. At another time Manuel started a question as to the words, "My Father is greater than I," which he maintained to relate to the Saviour's created humanity alone.[s] A third question arose out of the emperor's requiring the withdrawal of an anathema against the God of Mahomet from the catechetical tables.[t] The patriarch Theodosius replied that the anathema was not directed against the true God, but against the imaginary deity whom Mahomet

[n] De Manuele, vii. 5.

[o] See the next chapter.

[p] Cinnamus, vi. 2. He was also skilful in surgery and medicine. Ib. iv. 22.

[q] Nicet. de Man. i. 22; Finlay, 'Gr. and Byz. Empires,' ii. 181. For Manuel's character see ib. 177, seqq. The tone of his court was very dissolute. The words which impute to him an adulterous intercourse with his niece, are, however, wanting in some copies of Nicetas.

[r] Προσφέρειν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ προσφέρεσθαι. Nicet. vii. 5. On this affair there is much in Tafel's Supplement to Anna Comnena. The proceedings of the synod at which it was discussed are given by Mai, 'Spicileg. Romanum,' x. 1-93.

[s] Nicet. vii. 5; Tafel, p. xvi.; Hefele, v. 604-6. The acts of the synod at which this was discussed in 1166 are given by Mai, 'Scr. Veterum Nova Coll.', iv. 1-96.

[t] Compare the opinions of a party in Spain, vol. iii. p. 453.

described as "neither begetter nor begotten, but holosphyrous."[u] On this the emperor drew up a form which he violently required the clergy to subscribe—threatening them with a council to which the pope of Rome should be invited; and some of them, among whom Eustathius of Thessalonica was conspicuous, were in danger on account of their opposition. But at length the matter was compromised by the subscription of an anathema against Mahomet with "all his doctrine and succession."[x] A later emperor, Andronicus, was so far from sharing in Manuel's theological tastes that, on hearing a discussion as to the words "My Father is greater than I," he threatened to throw the disputants into the river.[y]

From time to time attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation between the Greek and the Latin churches. A.D. 1098. The council of Bari, under Urban II., at which Anselm of Canterbury played the principal part, has been already mentioned.[z] In 1112 Paschal sent Peter Chrysolanus or Grosolanus, the dispossessed archbishop of Milan,[a] to Constantinople, for the purpose of discussing the points of difference,[b] and in 1115 the same pope addressed to the emperor Alexius

[u] Nicet. vii. 6-7 (Koran, c. 112). The word ὁλόσφυρος, derived from σφῦρα, *a hammer*, means *entirely made by hammering*, and thence *solid*. Thus the equivalent *holosphyratos* is used by Pliny of a *solid* statue (Hist. Nat. xxiv. 4), and is defined by Facciolati as meaning "solida, plena, non inanis, quæ scilicet non conflata est, sed mal leo ducta." But the Arabic word which was thus translated by the Greeks, is, when applied to God, understood by Arabic commentators on the Koran, and by later translators, as meaning *eternal* (Sale, in loc.; Schröckh, xxix. 650; Murdock, n. on Mosheim, 491). Euthymius Zigadenus (quoted by Ducange, Gloss. Græc. *in voc.*) says that ὁλόσφυρος has the same meaning with σφαιρικὸς (with which it is etymologically connected—see Passow, s. v. σφῦρα). Giesecler translates σφαιρικὸς by "die Weltkugel erfüllend" (II. ii. 669); but it seems rather to mean *globular*, and thence *self-complete*, which would agree with Manuel's contrast, "neither begetter nor begotten." Sylburg (quoted by Ducange, l. c.) says that Mahomet used his word in the sense of μονοπρόσωπος.

[x] Nicet. l. c.

[y] Id. de Andron. ii. 5.

[z] Vol. iv. p. 458.

[a] Vol. v. p 12.

[b] See Patrol. clxii. 1007, seqq.

a proposal for another conference, but with the unacceptable condition that the primacy of Rome should be acknowledged in all things.[c] About the year 1135, Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, who had been sent by Lothair III. as ambassador to the emperor John, engaged in discussions with Nicetas, bishop of Nicomedia, and one of the twelve principal teachers of Constantinople;[d] and in 1150, at the request of Eugenius III., he drew up a report of the conference.[e] The chief points debated were the procession of the Holy Ghost, the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharist, and the authority of the Roman see. On the first of these the disputants appear to have approached to an agreement by means of mutual explanations.[f] On the question of the papacy, Nicetas is represented as strongly protesting against the Roman pretensions;[g] and he proposed a general council as the most hopeful means towards a reconciliation.[h] Although Anselm's report of the arguments is naturally favourable to the author and his cause, the Greek champion is allowed to acquit himself creditably; and they parted with expressions of mutual respect. Another discussion was held at Constantinople about 1179, by Hugh Eterianus, a Tuscan, whose conduct in it was approved by Alexander III.;[i] a Greek abbot named Nectarius maintained the Greek views at the Lateran synod of 1119, and on his return was hailed "like another Olympian victor;"[k] and the subject of reunion often engaged the attention

[c] Ep. 437 (Patrol. clxiii.).

[d] Anselm, in Patrol. clxxxviii., Prolog. col. 1162.

[e] Prolog.

[f] Anselm, Dial. ii. 27.

[g] The Greeks now often maintained that Rome had lost its ecclesiastical with its political greatness; and that this was the just punishment of its heterodoxy. See Cinnamus, v. 10; Nilus Doxopatrius, 'Notitia Patriarchatuum,' in Le Moyne, 'Varia Sacra,' i. 242-3, Lugd. Bat. 1694; Schröckh, xxix. 375, 377; and passages from Greek writers against the Roman arrogance in Gieseler, II. ii. 672.

[h] Anselm, Dial. ii. 27; iii. 19-20.

[i] Patrol. ccii. 227, 230, seqq.; Alex. Ep. 1322 (ib. cc.).

[k] Hard. vi. 1687-8.

of the popes.[l] But on the whole, the increasing claims of Rome, the invasion of the East by Latin patriarchs, bishops, and clergy, the collisions between the eastern and the western churches which took place in the crusades, and other political causes, contributed to render the Greeks less and less favourable to such proposals;[m] and the massacre of the Latins under Andronicus[n] was at once a fearful proof of the bitter feeling with which they were regarded by the Greeks, and a pledge of further hostilities.[o]

II. The Nestorians continued to carry on their missionary work in the East, although the successes which they claimed may in many cases have been only nominal.[p] About the middle of the eleventh century stories began to be circulated in Europe as to a Christian nation of north-eastern Asia, whose sovereign was at the same time king and priest, and was known by the name of Prester John. Amid the mass of fables with which the subject is encumbered, it would seem to be certain that, in the very beginning of the century, the khan of the Keraït, a tribe whose chief seat was at Karakorum, between Lake Baikal and the northern frontier of China, was converted to Nestorian Christianity—it is said, through the appearance of a saint to him when he had lost his way in hunting.[q] By means of conversation with Christian merchants, he acquired some elementary knowledge of the faith, and, on the application of Ebed-Jesu,

[l] *E. g.*, Eugen. III., Ep. 204 (Patrol. clxxx.); Adrian IV., Ep. 198 (ib. clxxxviii.).

[m] Gieseler, II. ii. 672.

[n] See p. 221.

[o] St. Bernard, in remonstrating with Eugenius III. on the lack of missionary zeal in the Roman church, says: "Ego addo et de pertinacia Græcorum, qui nobiscum sunt et nobiscum non sunt, juncti fide, pace divisi, quamquam et in fide ipsa claudicaverint a semitis rectis." De Consideratione, III. i. 4.

[p] Neander, vii. 62.

[q] Schröckh, xxv. 187. Neander (vii. 62) points out the likeness of this story to that of the conversion of the Iberians. See vol. i. p. 414.

metropolitan of Maru, to the Nestorian patriarch Gregory, clergy were sent, who baptized the king and his subjects, to the number of 200,000. Ebed-Jesu consulted the patriarch how the fasts were to be kept, since the country did not afford any corn, or anything but flesh and milk; and the answer was, that, if no other Lenten provisions were to be had, milk should be the only diet for seasons of abstinence.[r]

The earliest western notice of this nation is given by Otho of Freising, from the relation of an Armenian bishop who visited the court of pope Eugenius III. This report is largely tinctured with fable, and deduces the Tartar chief's descent from the Magi who visited the Saviour in His cradle.[s] It would seem that the Nestorians of Syria, for the sake of vying with the boasts of the Latins, delighted in inventing tales as to the wealth, the splendour, and the happiness of their convert's kingdom;[t] and to them is probably to be ascribed an extravagantly absurd letter,[u] in which Prester John is made to dilate on the greatness and the riches of his dominions, the magnificence of his state and the beauty of his wives,[x] and to offer the Byzantine emperor, Manuel, if he be of the true faith, the office of lord chamberlain in the court of Karakorum. In 1177 Alexander III. was induced by reports which a physician named Philip had brought back from Tartary, as to Prester John's desire to be received into communion with the pope, to address a letter to the king, recommending Philip as a religious instructor.[y] But nothing is known as to the result of

[r] Mosheim, Hist. Tartar. Eccles. 23.

[s] Otto Fris. vii. 32-3; Mosh. Hist. Tart. 25-6.

[t] Rubruquis (A.D. 1253) in 'Purchas, his Pilgrimes,' iii. 14 (Lond. 1625); Mosh. Hist. Tart. 16.

[u] Mut. Modoet. in Pertz, xviii. 579, seqq.; Mosh. Hist. Tart. Append. 29-33. See Schröckh, xxv. 190; Oppert 'Der Presbyter Johannes, in Sage u. Geschichte,' Berlin, 1864, pp. 36, 167; Herzog, vi. 765-7.

[x] The Christianity of Prester John, therefore, was not inconsistent with polygamy. Mosh. Hist. Tart. 33.

[y] Epp. 1322 (Patrol. cc.); Oppert,

this; and in 1202 the Keraït kingdom was overthrown by the Tartar conqueror Genghis Khan.[z]

In explanation of the story as to the union of priesthood with royalty in Prester John, many theories have been proposed, of which two may be mentioned here: that it arose out of the fact of a Nestorian priest's having got possession of the kingdom on the death of a khan;[a] or that, the Tartar prince's title being compounded of the Chinese *wang* (king) and the Mongol *khan*, the first of these words was confounded by the Nestorians of Syria with the name John, and the second with *cohen* (a priest).[b]

III. Among the triumphs of Gregory VII. was the submission of the Spanish church, which had until then been independent, and had looked to no higher authority than the primate of Toledo.[c] The Spanish kings were induced to favour this submission by the wish to ally themselves with the rest of Christendom, as a means of strength against their unbelieving neighbours; and it was forwarded by the influence of many Frenchmen who had been promoted to ecclesiastical dignities in Spain.[d] In consequence of the union, Gregory wrote to Alfonso VI. of Castile and to Sancho of Aragon, exhorting them to

53. Oppert says that the pope styles him "king of the Indians," and not "Prester John," and would hence infer that he knew nothing of the Khan's priesthood. But the address is, "Indorum regi, *sacerdotum sanctissimo*."

[z] Mosh. Hist. Tart. 27-33. For later notices, see Book VII. c. vi.; Käuffer, Gesch. v. Ost-Asien, iii. 169, 172 (Leipz. 1860); Marco Polo, ed. Yule, i. 209-15. Yule's 'Cathay' (Hakluyt Soc.), 173, seqq.

[a] This is the opinion of Mosheim (Hist. Tart. 20; Ch. Hist. ii. 422), who infers it from Rubruquis (in Purchas, 15), and some other old writers.

[b] See Gieseler, II. ii. 658; Neander, vii. 63-4; Käuffer, iii. 170-1. The identification of Prester John's kingdom with Abyssinia (Lobo, in Pinkerton, xvi. 20) was a mistake of Portuguese explorers some centuries later. See Oppert, 7-9. For this writer's own views, see pp. 120, 140, etc., of his treatise.

[c] Hist. Compostellana, ii. 1 (Patrol. clxx. 1032). The first archbishop of Toledo who received the pall from Rome was Bernard, in 1087. Mariana (ed. Sabau), vi. 123.

[d] Giesel. II. ii. 231.

adopt the Roman ritual as a symbol of unity;[e] and it is said that Alfonso referred the question to an ordeal, by setting up champions to fight for the Roman and the Mozarabic liturgies respectively. The national champion was victorious, and this result was hailed with great delight by the people; but Alfonso, at his queen's instigation, declared that the decision must be made by fire, and the rival books were placed on a blazing pile, from which the Mozarabic office leaped out unhurt, while the Roman or Gallican was consumed. But, says the chronicler who relates this, "Laws go as kings will;" and notwithstanding its double victory, the national liturgy was abolished, except in a few monasteries.[f] On the recovery of Toledo from the Saracens by Alfonso, Urban II. bestowed on that city the primacy over all Spain, which it had enjoyed under the Gothic kings; but the other Spanish metropolitans contested this primacy until the Lateran council of 1215.[g] A.D. 1088.

The popes further interfered in the Spanish peninsula by acknowledging Portugal as an independent kingdom, under the especial protection of the Roman see, and professing to grant the kings a right over all that they might be able to rescue from the Saracens. In consideration of the connexion with Rome, an annual tribute was paid to St. Peter's successors.[h]

[e] Ep. i. 64 (A.D. 1074); cf. Epp. i. 63; iii. 18 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

[f] Roderick of Toledo, who died in 1247, is the oldest authority for this story in its complete form (vii. 26, in Rer. Hisp. Script. t. i., Francof. 1597); although, as the Bollandists (Jul. t. vi. p. 49) and Guéranger (i. 289) observe, the germ of it is found in the Chron. Malleacense, which ends in 1134. See Labbe, Biblioth. MSS., ii. 211. Eugenius III. orders the partisans of the Mozarabic liturgy to conform. Ep. 537 (Patrol. clxxx.). See Hard. vi. 1693; Mariana, l. ix. c. 18. Compare the story as to a contest between the Roman and the Ambrosian liturgies, quoted by Jer. Taylor (v. 500) from Durandus, Rationale, v. 2.

[g] See vol. iii. p. 5; Urban II. Epp. 5-8, etc. (Patrol. cli.); Vita Urb., ib. 41; Nat. Alex. xiii. 293-4; Raynald. 1215. 16.

[h] Alex. III. Ep. 1424 (A.D. 1179) It is said that the title of king was assumed in 1139, and was sanctioned

IV. In 1125 England was visited by a legate, John of Crema, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, whose exactions and insolence excited general disgust.[i] The primate, William of Corboyl, feeling himself injured by the precedence which this legate, although only a priest, assumed over archbishops and bishops,[k] accompanied him on his return to Rome, with a view of vindicating the rights of his see; and the matter was accommodated by the pope's bestowing on the archbishop, for his own person, a commission as ordinary legate in England.[l]

William of Corboyl, in 1135, sanctioned the usurpation of the crown by Stephen;[m] and it was remarked as a sign of the Divine displeasure that he died within a year.[n] During the troubles of Stephen's reign much invasion of ecclesiastical and monastic property took place. Churches were burnt or were converted into fortresses, and the wealth of monasteries was violently plundered by the irregularly-paid mercenaries who held the country

by Innocent II. in 1141. See Lucius II. Ep. 26 (Patrol. clxxix.); Ep. 1 ad Lucium (ib.); Schröckh, xxvi. 120; Gieseler. II. ii. 94. The archbishops of Braga were disposed to claim independence, but are ordered to be subject to Toledo. Adrian IV. Ep. 80; Lucius II. Ep. 36; Eugen. III. Epp. 22, 370-1, 450.

[i] Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1125; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1125; R. Wendover, ii. 205; Collier, ii. 193; Inett, ii. 153. In the schism of a later date, John was at first for Innocent, then for Anacletus, then for Innocent again. See Bernard, Ep. 163 (Patrol. clxxxii.); Baron. 1135. 8. His name will again occur, c. xiii. sect. i. 7.

[k] Gervas. Dorob. 1663; Hen. Huntingd. l. viii. (Patrol. cxcv. 956). Twysden, Hist. Vindication, 28.

[l] Honor. II. Ep. 57, Jan. 1127 (Patrol. clxvi.); W. Malmesb. 693; Sym. Dunelm. 253; Gervas. 1663. See Twysden, l. c. 30-2; Wharton, Ang. Sac., i. 792; Lingard, ii. 46. Wharton's remarks as to the archbishop's having betrayed the independence of his church seem too strong; but Lingard's citation from Eadmer—("inauditum scilicet in Britannia cunctis sæculis, quemlibet hominem super se vices apostolicas gerere nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ),"—and his references to William of Malmesbury do not fairly meet the case. The peculiarity was, that Abp. William took out a special and personal commission as legate, instead of resting on the general right of his see.

[m] Gesta Stephani, edited by R. C. Sewell (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 7-8; Gervas. 1664; Lappenberg, ii. 296-9.

[n] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1135. Others who, in breach of their oaths to Henry I., joined Stephen, are also said to have ended badly. (Ib.) Stephen was acknowledged by Innocent II. Ep. 250 (Patrol. clxxix.).

in terror.[o] "Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land," says the Saxon chronicler, in his striking description of the miseries of Stephen's reign, "nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did; for everywhere at times they forbore neither church nor churchyard, but took all the property that was therein, and then burned the church and all together. Nor forbore they a bishop's land, nor an abbot's, nor a priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man another, who anywhere could. The bishops and clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it; for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and lost."[p] But on the other hand, the clergy were in such times a body whose support could not but be very valuable; and thus they were able to increase their privileges and their power. Henry, bishop of Winchester and brother of the king, had obtained the office of legate after archbishop William, and was the most powerful member of the episcopate, while he was devoted to high hierarchical principles. It is said that he had a design of erecting his see into an archbishoprick, with seven suffragans;[q] and Stephen, although greatly indebted to him for assistance at the outset of his reign, found it necessary to balance the legate's power by promoting Theobald, abbot of Le Bec, to Canterbury;[r] whereupon Henry in disgust transferred himself to the party of the legitimate claimant of the kingdom, Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and widow of the emperor Henry V., pretending, at an assembly of the clergy in 1141, that the right of electing a sovereign belonged chiefly to that order.[s] The new primate found himself greatly

[o] Will. Malmesb. 707; Gesta Steph. 97-8; Hist. Abendoniensis (Chron. and Mem.), ii. 210; Lingard, ii. 96; Lappenb. ii. 347.

[p] A.D. 1137 (vol. ii. 231, ed. Thorpe). See Mackintosh, i. 135.

[q] Annal. Winton., in Wharton, . 300; R. Wendover, ii. 234; Inett, ii. 200. For his grandeur and assumptions, see Girald. Cambr. de Vitis vi. Episcoporum, in Wharton, ii. 425.

[r] Gesta Steph. 5-6; Inett, ii. 180.

[s] W. Malmesb. Hist. Novell. iii. 44; Gervas. 1248. Mr. Hallam shows the

embarrassed by the position of the legate, who, although his own suffragan, claimed authority over him, and presided at councils as his superior, until Lucius II., on succeeding to the papacy, instead of renewing the bishop of Winchester's legation, gave Theobald a commission by which the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being was appointed *legatus natus* of the pope.[t] By these legatine commissions the English church was brought into more direct connection with Rome; and it is to the time of Henry of Winchester's legation that the frequency, if not the origin, of appeals from England to the pope is traced.[u]

In the beginning of Stephen's reign, the bishops, on swearing fealty to him, "so long as he should preserve the liberty of the church, and the rigour of discipline," had exacted from him an oath that he would redress the grievances which had been inflicted on the Church by Henry I., with a very full assurance of privileges and immunities; but these promises were ill observed.[x] The clergy, however, continued to make good their interest. When the bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Salisbury had built themselves strong castles, which they held out against the king, Henry of Winchester, as legate, declared that these prelates ought not to be liable to any other than ecclesiastical judgment. The archbishop of Rouen maintained that, if bishops were allowed to possess castles, the king ought, as in other countries, to hold the keys, and to have the right of entering. But Stephen, in fear of Matilda's growing power, submitted to appear by proxy when summoned before a council for

groundlessness of this pretension. M. A. i. 515.

[t] Gervas. 1348; Joh. Hagustald. A.D. 1145 (Twysden, col. 273).

[u] Gervase of Canterbury says that until then they had been "inusitatæ" (1369). See Inett, ii. 195-6; Lappenb. ii. 363.

[x] W. Malmesb. Hist. Novella, i. 15-16. Comp. Gesta Steph. 16; Lappenb. ii. 309.

his treatment of the three bishops, and did penance in obedience to its sentence.[y]

The relations between Stephen and Theobald became less friendly than they had been at first. At the instance, it is said, of his brother, who had again changed sides, the king forbade the archbishop to attend the council held by Eugenius III. at Reims in 1148. Theobald, however, resolved to disregard this; and, as the coasts were guarded, he crossed the sea in a small open boat. He was welcomed by the pope with the remark that he "had come rather by swimming than by sailing;"[z] but on attempting to return, he was met by a sentence of banishment and confiscation, to which he replied by pronouncing an interdict.[a] In 1152 the primate was again embroiled with the king, in consequence of having refused to crown his son Eustace; but peace was restored by the death of Eustace, and by the arrangement which secured the reversion of the crown to Henry II., the son of Matilda.[b]

V. In Scotland the church was led during this time to discard the peculiarities of its earlier system, and was gradually assimilated to the church of southern Britain—chiefly through the influence of the Cistercians and of the Augustinian canons.[c] The beginning of this change is ascribed to the influence of the English princess Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, wife of Malcolm Canmore, and mother of David I. of Scotland and of "Maud the Good," the first wife of Henry Beauclerc. Margaret's piety, charity, and ascetic

A.D. 1070-1093.

[y] Gesta Steph. 47-51, 63, etc.; W. Malmesb. Hist. Nov. ii. 20-8; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1139-40, etc.; Florent. Vigorn. contin. ii. 107; Inett, ii. 184; Lingard, ii. 76.

[z] Thom. Cantuar. Ep. 37 (Patrol. cxc.). Cf. Hist. Pontif. 2 (Pertz, xxi.).

[a] Ib. c. 15; Ælred, in Twysden, 509; Gervas. ib. 1364; Collier, ii. 240; Inett, ii. 202; Lingard, ii. 92.

[b] Gervas. 1371, 1668; Lingard, ii. 92.

[c] Bp. Forbes, Kalendar of Scottish Saints, xxii. One consequence was that old native saints were thrust out. Ib. xxi.

life are celebrated with enthusiasm by her confessor and biographer, Turgot, a monk of Durham and afterwards bishop of St. Andrew's.[d] She built churches, redeemed captives, and provided hospitals for the use of pilgrims.[e] Her husband's affection for her was unbounded; in token of it we are told that, although himself unable to read, he used to handle her books with interest, to kiss those which he observed that she loved most, and sometimes to surprise her by presenting her with one of her favourite volumes in a new and splendid binding.[f] Under Margaret's influence the Celtic element was depressed in Scotland, while the court took an English tone and character.[g] Councils were assembled for the reformation of the church; and at one of these it is said that Margaret, almost unaided except by the presence and countenance of the king, who acted as interpreter, maintained for three days, with "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," the cause of opposition to the usages or abuses which prevailed in Scotland.[h] The beginning of Lent had been reckoned forty days before Easter, without excepting Sundays;[i] communion, even at Easter, had been disused, even by the clergy,[k]

[d] Acta SS., June 10, where it is ascribed to one Theodoric; but it is now generally regarded as the work of Turgot. See also, as to Margaret, Palgrave, 'Norm. and Eng.' iv. 317, seqq.; E. W. Robertson, i. 148; Jos. Robertson, xxi. seqq.; Stuart, Introd. to Book of Deer, cxi.; Bp. Forbes, Kalendar, 387, seqq.

[e] Vita, cc. 17-23.

[f] Ib. 10.

[g] "Moderniores enim Scottorum reges magis se Francos fatentur, sicut genere, ita moribus, lingua, cultu, Scottisque ad extremam servitutem redactis, solos Francos in familiaritatem et obsequium adhibent." Walt. Coventr. ii. 211 (A.D. 1212).

[h] Ib. 13.

[i] The biographer speaks of this as contrary to the practice of all other churches; but the editor remarks that the same has been the custom of Milan from St. Ambrose's time. 332.

[k] As to the difficulties connected with this statement, see Grub, i. 196; Bp. Forbes, 388. Mr. Joseph Robertson says, "Obviously nothing more is implied than that from a scrupulous regard for the sanctity of Easter it was the practice not to partake of the Eucharist on that day." (Conc. Scot. i. 23.) But the general plea of unworthiness ("Quia nos peccatores recognoscimus, ne judicium nobis manducemus et bibamus, ad illud mysterium accedere formidamus") seems inconsistent with this.

who alleged that they were unworthy to receive the sacrament; and marriages had been allowed which the general law of the church denounced as incestuous. Against these and other irregularities Margaret contended, and she succeeded in doing away with them.[1]

To this time is also referred the more thorough and regular division of the country into dioceses, which seems to have been in progress from the reign of Malcolm Canmore (A.D. 1057-93) to that of David I. (A.D. 1124-54),[m] whose munificence in the endowment of bishopricks and abbeys has earned him the zealous praise of the monastic writers,[n] and has not wanted defenders in later times against those who have censured it as tending to the impoverishment of the crown and the oppressive taxation of the people.[o] Nor did David, who had been educated in the English court, neglect, in his care for religion, to use other means of advancing the civilisation of his subjects, who, notwithstanding the influence of many English and Norman settlers, were generally in a very rude condition.[p] Among other changes which took

[1] Vita, 13-15; Palgrave, iv. 328-32. She died in 1093, three days after her husband had been killed at Alnwick, and was canonized by Innocent IV. in 1251.

[m] See Spottiswoode, i. 59; Skinner, i. 212-13, 217, 241; Grub, i. 218.

[n] See Ælred, in Patrol. cxcv. 713; Vita Bernard. Tiron., ib. clxxii. 1426; W. Malmesb., ib. clxxix. 1357; Sym. Dunelm., A.D. 1128; Joh. Hagustald., p. 281; Fordun, v. 31, seqq.

[o] See Spottisw. i. 69-71, in reply to Holinshed; C. Innes, i., c. iii.; Grub, i. 260, 272-6; Jos. Robertson, lxxxix. The wealth of the church would not seem to have been very excessive in this century, if Albert of Stade speaks truly in saying that, of two Scotch bishops who were consecrated at the Lateran council of 1179, "unus solo equo venerat, alter pedes cum solo pedite" (Pertz, xvi. 349). Bishop Keith's Catalogue does not afford the means of identifying these bishops.

[p] C. Innes, i. 86-9. William of Newburgh highly celebrates the wisdom of David, as well as his piety and bounty—"Vir propter regni negotia ad divina nequaquam officia segnior, vel propter divina quibus insistebat officia ad negotia regni obtunsior" [*sic* (i. 23; cf. W. Malmesb. l. c.; E. W. Robertson, c. viii., especially p. 227). The savage ferocity of the Scots in their inroads into England is denounced by all the old English chroniclers (*e.g.*, Henr. Huntingd., in Patrol. cxcv. 959; Joh. Hagustald., 260, 268; Ric. Hagustald., 316-18; R. de Dicetq 573; Order. Vital. xiii. 17, fin., 19, W. Neubrig. ii. 32; R. Wendover, ii. 221; Bromton, 1090). The later Scottish writers are indignant in their pro-

place during this period may be mentioned the extinction of the ancient order of clergy styled Culdees, who, although not without a struggle, were superseded by canons living under the same rules as those of other western churches.[q]

After the death of bishop Turgot, in 1115, a remarkable case of difference took place as to the see of St. Andrews, which had by this time become the seat of the primacy, so that its bishops were styled bishops or archbishops "of the Scots."[r] Alexander I. of Scotland applied to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that the bishops of St. Andrews had always been consecrated either by the archbishop of Canterbury or by the pope, until Lanfranc allowed them for a time to be consecrated at York.[s] The vacancy continued until 1120, when Alexander again wrote to the archbishop, requesting that Edmer, the monk of Canterbury to whom we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge of St. Anselm's life and character, should be allowed to accept the see; and to this Ralph assented, and obtained the consent of Henry I.[t] But after Edmer had been invested, although he was not yet consecrated, a serious disagreement arose. The Scottish king, who had intended nothing more than to evade the claims of York, was disgusted at finding that the monk asserted the title of Canterbury to jurisdiction over all Britain. Edmer, on the other hand, declared that he would not, for St. Andrews or for all Scotland, give up his connection with Canterbury; and, although a friend named Nicolas advised him to solve

tests against such statements, but have unhappily no evidence to show on the other side.

[q] Gieseler, II. ii. 232; Palgrave, iv. 333; Grub, c. xvi.; E. W. Robertson, i. 336-7; Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 177.

[r] "Summi archiepiscopi sive summi episcopi Scotorum. Sic et dicti sunt et dicuntur per excellentiam ab universis Scotorum episcopis qui a locis quibus præsunt appellantur." Chron. of Picts and Scots, ed. Skene, 190-1. See vol. iv. p. 75.

[s] Eadmer. Hist. Nov. l. v. (Patrol. clix. 495). See Grub, i. 207-9; Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 191, seqq.

[t] Eadm. 510-12; Spottiswoode, i. 65-8.

the difficulty by seeking consecration from the pope,[u] it seemed to Edmer that all hope of usefulness in the northern church was shut out by his difference with the king. He therefore returned the episcopal ring to Alexander, laid his cross on the altar from which he had taken it, and returned to England.[x] Robert, prior of Scone, an Englishman by birth, who was appointed in his stead, refused to profess obedience to York so long as Alexander lived; but after the king's death he submitted to be consecrated by archbishop Thurstan, with the understanding that there should be no prejudice to the rights of either see.[y] A.D. 1128.

The claims of the see of York to jurisdiction over Scotland—claims which had no real foundation except in so far as concerned that part of Scotland which had formerly been within the Northumbrian kingdom[z]—were now renewed and kept up, chiefly perhaps with a view of counterbalancing the increased greatness of the southern metropolitan.[a] But as to the details of this question, there is a difference between the English and the Scottish writers, as the ancient chronicles of Scotland have perished, and the later Scottish authors charge the English chroniclers not only with falsehood but with forgery.[b] On a vacancy in the see of Glasgow, the archdeacon Ingelram, having been sent by Malcolm IV. to Alexander III., was

[u] See his letter in Wharton, ii. 234-6.

[x] Eadmer, 513-15.

[y] Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1224; Chron. of Picts and Scots, 191; Spottisw. i. 68; Keith's Catalogue, 6, ed. 4to.; Grub, i. 216-17. David attempted to get St. Andrews made an archbishoprick. Jos. Robertson, xxiv. See Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 212.

[z] See Lloyd, quoted by Skinner, i. 264; Russell, i. 103-4; Jos. Robertson, xxvi.-ix.

[a] Pauli, iii. 146. The archbishops of Canterbury had added Wales to their jurisdiction under Henry I. (Lingard, ii. 51). For their gain as to Ireland, see the next section. As to the Orkneys, see Lanfranc, Epp. 11-12; Collier, ii. 52. On the question between York and the Scottish church, see Calixt. II. Epp. 165-6, 255 (Patrol. clxii.); Innoc. II. Epp. 40, 71 (ib. clxxix.); Adrian. IV. Ep. 20 (ib. clxxxviii.); Alex. III. Ep. 1241, (ib. cc.); Wilkins, i. 480-1. For the quarrels of Canterbury and York, see Nat. Alex. xiii. 295-9.

[b] See Spottisw. i. 76; Skinner, i. 267-8.

consecrated by him at Sens, notwithstanding the opposition of envoys from the archbishop of York, and returned with an acknowledgment that the Scottish church was exempt from all jurisdiction except that of the pope.[c] In 1175, according to the English writers, when William of Scotland had been taken prisoner at Alnwick, his bishops and abbots swore at York that they would pay such submission as was due and customary to the see of York, and that the bishops of Scotland should repair to that archbishop for consecration.[d] But at a meeting at Northampton in the following year, under the legate Uguccio Pierleone, the Scottish bishops denied that there had ever been, either by right or in fact, any such subjection as was claimed. Roger of York produced documents in proof that the bishops of Candida Casa (Whitherne) and Glasgow had formerly been subject to York; but, fortunately for the Scots, a dispute arose between the two English archbishops as to the claims of their sees over Scotland, and the matter remained undecided.[e] Both parties appealed to Rome, and in 1176 Vivian, cardinal of St. Stephen's on the Cœlian (who had formerly been employed as a commissioner in the differences between Henry II. and Becket), was sent as legate into Scotland, where he is described by the Melrose chronicler as "treading down and breaking to pieces all that fell in his way—alert to take, and not slow to seize."[f] The bishop of

A.D. 1164.

[c] Spottisw. (i. 73) and Keith wrongly place the consecration at Rome. See a letter of Alexander in Keith's Catalogue, 139 (4to. ed.); Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 36-7. Cf. 41-3, 45.

[d] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1175; Ben. Petrib. 136; Bromton, 1103; Alex. III. Ep. 1241; E. W. Robertson, i. 375; Jos. Robertson, xxxi.-ii.

[e] Ben. Petrib. 136; R. Hoveden, 314 *b*. Bromton, 1108; Wilkins, . 483; E. W. Robertson, i. 377-9; Jos. Robertson, xxxii.-v. The story of a young canon named Gilbert (afterwards bishop of Caithness, see Acta SS., Apr. i. p. 50), standing forward as the champion of the Scottish church, seems to be an invention of Fordun (Annal. xv. p. 267, ed. Skene). See Spottisw. i. 77-8; Skinner, i. 268; C. Innes, ii. 84; Grub, i. 291. Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 244.

[f] A.D. 1176.

Whitherne declined the legate's summons to a council, on the ground that he was subject to the see of York;[g] and a war of ecclesiastical censures followed, without any decisive result. Shortly after this a dispute arose as to the appointment of a bishop of St. Andrews, which brought the Scottish king into collision with the archbishop of York and with the pope. Roger of York, who had received a commission as legate for Scotland, issued a sentence of excommunication and interdict in 1181; but after the death of this turbulent prelate the question was settled by an arrangement favourable to William, who was absolved by Lucius III. in 1182, and obtained from Clement III. and Celestine III. an acknowledgment of the freedom of the Scottish church from all jurisdiction but that of the pope himself, or of legates specially commissioned by him.[h] A.D. 1178-80.

VI. In Ireland also this period is marked, even more strongly than in Scotland, by changes which obliterated the ancient peculiarities of the church, and reduced it under the same power which had mastered the rest of western Christendom. We have already seen that the Danes who had established themselves in that country

[g] Ben. Petr. 211; Hoveden, 324. The see of Candida Casa had been thrice founded, the last foundation having been by King David. As the second line of bishops had been English, those of the third regarded themselves as subject to York (Grub, i. 268-9). "The bishops of Whitherne received consecration from the metropolitan of York, even after they were permitted to take their seats in the Scotch Parliament, in the fourteenth century." C. Innes, ii. 207. See Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 56, seqq.

[h] See Ben. Petrib. 331, 347-9, 362, 366-71, 379, 380, 384, 510-14, 528-31, 538; Alex. III. Ep. 1470; Luc. III. Ep. 46 (Patr. cci.); Urban. III. Epp. 49, 50 (ib. ccii.); Clem. III. Ep. 33 (ib. cciv.); Cœlest. III. Ep. 64 (ib. ccvi.); Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1178-80, R. Hoved. 341, 350-2, 354, 360-1, 368-9; Spottisw. i. 78-80; Planck, IV. ii. 60-3; Pauli, iii. 145; Grub, i. 292-5; Raine, i. 250-1; Jos. Robertson, i. 39-40. The exemption was renewed by Honorius III. in 1218, and by Gregory IX. in 1247. See Theiner, 'Monumenta,' 8, 15-16, 49; and the fac-simile of Honorius's bull in National MSS. of Scotland, ed. C. Innes, vol. 1, No. 47.

were led, on embracing the Christian faith, to seek their pastors, not from among the natives whom they had dispossessed, but from their own Norman kindred who had become masters of England.[i] It was to the archbishops of Canterbury that the bishops of the Danish cities, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, repaired for consecration, and made profession of canonical obedience; and these bishops, although sometimes of Irish birth, were generally persons who had been trained in English monasteries.[k] The connexion thus begun, although at first it reached no further than England, could not fail in time to bring the Irish church into new relations with Rome.

A letter in which Gregory VII. appears as addressing the Irish king Torlogh, and claiming Ireland for the Roman see, would seem to have had no effect.[l] But in the beginning of the next century, Gille or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick (who had known Anselm as abbot of Le Bec, and had renewed his intercourse with him by letters after the conclusion of his struggle with Henry I.),[m] received a commission as legate for Ireland, perhaps

[i] Vol. iv. p. 73; Ussher, 'Religion of Ancient Irish,' c. viii. (Works, vol. iv. 326); Lanigan, iii. 336.

[k] See the letters to and from Lanfranc, Anselm, etc., in Ussher, 'Sylloge,' Epp. 25, seqq. (Works, iv. 488, seqq.); Eadmer. Hist. Nov. ii. (Patrol. clix. 393); Bernard. Vita Malachiæ, 8 (ib. clxxxii.); Lanigan, iv. 146; King's Primer, 420-1, 426-32. Some of the letters by the English primates are in reproof of irregularities in the Irish church. One of Lanfranc's ('Sylloge,' 28) is in answer to the enquiry of an Irish bishop named Domnald, whether the communion of infants were supposed in England to be necessary for their salvation. Lanfranc assures him that there is no such opinion. See Lanigan, iii. 457.

[l] This letter was printed by Archbishop Ussher ('Sylloge,' 29), from a MS. at Cambridge, in which it was annexed to the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and it also exists among the Cotton MSS. It contains nothing improbable, and seems to be received without suspicion by writers on Irish history (see King, 427); yet it not only is missing in the collections of Gregory's letters, but the date, "Sutrii, 6 Kal. Mart." does not fall in with his movements in any year of his pontificate, as registered by Jaffé. He was certainly not at Sutri on February 24, 1085, the year to which Ussher refers the letter.

[m] Patrol. clviii. 510-13.

through Anselm's influence with the pope.[n] As legate he presided over a synod at Rathbreasil,[o] at which his influence was successfully exerted in favour of Roman customs. Ireland was to be portioned out into regular dioceses, instead of having bishops unlimited in number and without local jurisdiction;[p] and the form of discipline and divine service was to be reduced to the Roman model—an object which Gille had before endeavoured to promote by a treatise which is still extant.[q] It is not to be wondered at that the clergy in general were glad, in the fearful miseries of their country, to catch at any scheme which appeared to promise strength to the Church; yet it would seem that Gille's Romanizing policy was not universally acceptable.[r]

In this policy Gille was followed by Maolmaodhog or Malachy, whose fame has been greatly enhanced by the circumstance that St. Bernard became his biographer. Malachy, of whom Bernard says that he was no more affected by the barbarism of his nation than fishes are by the saltness of the sea,[s] was born about the year 1095 at Armagh, where his father, an ecclesiastic, was chief lecturer.[t] After having acted as vicar under Kellach (or Celsus), archbishop of Armagh,[u] he was consecrated to the see of Connor in 1125. "But," says the

[n] King, 450. Gille has been supposed by some to have been an Ostman. But see Lanigan, iv. 24-6. Mr. King is inclined to think him "a foreigner." Memoir on Armagh, 89.

[o] This place has been supposed to be Mountrath, in Leinster. Lanigan dates the council in 1118 (iv. 38); Mr. King, in 1110 (Memoir, 83).

[p] In the latter part of the century, Richard of Canterbury still complains of "pseudo-episcopi Hibernienses, aut Scoticæ linguæ simulantes barbariem," as invading English dioceses. Pet. Bles. Ep. 53 (Patrol. ccvii.). See Todd's 'St. Patrick,' 42.

[q] See Ussher, iv. 500-10, or Patrol clix. Lanigan, unlike the Romanists of our own day, is strongly against Gille's opinion as to the necessity of uniformity. iv. 28.

[r] King, Primer, 454-5; Memoir, 83.

[s] Vita Mal. 1 (Patrol. clxxxii.).

[t] King, Memoir, 87. Lanigan, in the interest of clerical celibacy, endeavours to argue that the office of lecturer did not imply ecclesiastical orders. iv. 52-4.

[u] Bern. 6-7.

biographer, "when he began to perform the duties of his office, then the man of God came to understand that he had been destined not to men but to beasts. Nowhere had he yet experienced such people, so shameless as to manners, so savage [x] as to rites, so impious as to faith, so barbarous as to laws, so stiff-necked as to discipline, so filthy as to life." But by the zealous labours of Malachy, who went throughout his diocese on foot, "distributing even to the ungrateful the measure of heavenly wheat," we are told that "their hardness ceased, their barbarism was stilled; the barbaric laws were done away with, the Roman were introduced; everywhere the customs of the Church were received, and those contrary to them were rejected; churches were rebuilt, and clergy were ordained in them." [y]

In 1127 Celsus of Armagh on his death-bed recommended Malachy as his successor. But for five years the new bishop was kept out by Murtogh, a layman of a family which for fifteen successions had occupied the temporalities of the see—the last eight holders having moreover been married men; [z] and, after Murtogh's death, he had for two years longer to encounter the opposition of one Niall, whose influence among the Irish was rendered formidable by the possession of the episcopal insignia. [a] At length Malachy obtained peaceable possession of the see; and he then insisted on fulfilling a resolution that, whenever this should be achieved, he would resign. [b] Return-

A.D. 1137.

[x] "Ferales." Bernard seems to have derived the word from *ferus*, as Matthew Paris writes, "præceptum ferale regis adimpleret" (*viz.*, by burning down an abbey, Hist. Min. ii. 189), and John of Winterthur (in Eccard, ii. 1793), speaks of "naturam feralem seu bestialem." See, too, Ammian. Marcellinus, quoted in vol. i. p. 348.

[y] Bern. 16-17.

[z] Bern. 19-20. See vol. iii. 12. The abuse of such lay abbots was not unknown in Scotland. See E. W. Robertson, i. 339.

[a] Bern. 20-7. The superstitious attachment of the Irish to such relics is mentioned not only by Bernard (24), but by Giraldus Cambrensis, 'Hib. Expugnata,' iii. 33-4.

[b] Ib. 31.

ing to his old diocese of Connor, he restored the ancient division of it into two, and chose for himself the inferior of these, the bishoprick of Down. Here he laboured with the same zeal and energy which he had displayed elsewhere—preaching, hearing confessions, founding monasteries, and endeavouring to enforce the observance of the regular hours and manner of psalmody, which in Ireland had hitherto been unknown beyond the monasteries.[c]

The government of the church was still but imperfectly organized. The see of Armagh had retained a superiority in consideration of its connexion with St. Patrick; but there were no regular archbishops in other sees, and Malachy resolved to remedy the defect by asking for palls in favour of Armagh and the newly-founded see of Cashel.[d] It was not without much difficulty that the Irish nobles and clergy would allow him to set out for Rome; but after lots had been thrice cast, and always with a result in favour of the expedition, their consent could not be withheld.[e] A.D. 1139-40. At Rome he was received with great honour by Innocent II., who bestowed on him the legatine commission which Gille had resigned on account of age and infirmity.[f] The pope also confirmed the archiepiscopal dignity of Cashel; but, in answer to Malachy's proposal as to the palls, he said that it was a matter to be managed with greater solemnity—that an application ought to be made for them by a national council of bishops, clergy, and nobles.[g] Malachy requested the pope's leave to become a monk at Clairvaux, which he had visited on his way to Rome; but was told that he must continue his more active labours.[h] On his journey homewards he again visited the abbey, where he left

[c] Girald, Cambr. 'Hib. Expugnata,' iii. 32. Cf. 7-8.
[d] Bern. 33; King, Primer, 447, 472.
[e] Bern. 34.
[f] Ib. 38.
[g] Ib.
[h] Ib.

some of his companions for instruction; and by these, and some of Bernard's disciples who accompanied them on their return, the Cistercian order was introduced into Ireland.[i]

Malachy carried out his legation rigidly as to the enforcement of the Roman usages, while in his personal habits he still retained his original simplicity and severity.[k] But it would seem that Pope Innocent's caution as to the palls was borne out by the actual result —that the legate found his countrymen reluctant to submit to such an acknowledgment of the Roman superiority; for he allowed the matter to rest for several years. At length, in 1148, he resolved to take advantage of Pope Eugenius's visit to France for the purpose of renewing his suit, in the hope that his friendship with St. Bernard might recommend it to a pontiff who had formerly been a monk of Clairvaux. The consent of an Irish council was obtained, although it was again with difficulty that Malachy was allowed to go abroad in person. In passing through England he was delayed by the suspicions of King Stephen, who had forbidden that any bishop should be allowed to embark for the continent; and thus he was unable to reach Clairvaux until the pope had already returned to Rome.[l] He was received at Clairvaux, says St. Bernard, "like a real dayspring from on high visiting us;" but soon after his arrival he fell ill, and on All-Souls' day 1148 he died in the arms of the abbot—in the place which he had desired, and on the day which he had foretold.[m]

It would seem that, notwithstanding Malachy's death, the application of which he had been the bearer reached the pope; and in 1152 a cardinal-legate, John Paparo, held a synod at Kells, where palls were bestowed, not

[i] Bern. 39. The first monastery was Mellifont, near Drogheda, founded in 1142. Lanigan, iv. 117.

[k] Bern. 42-3.

[l] Ib. 67-9.

[m] Ib. 69, 70-5; Sermo ii. in S. Malach., Patrol. clxxxiii. 482.

only on the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, but also on those of Dublin and Tuam.[n] "And this," says Robert of Mont St. Michel, "was done contrary to the customs of the ancients, and to the dignity of the church of Canterbury, from which the bishops of Ireland had been wont to ask and to receive the blessing of consecration."[o]

Amongst the earliest acts of Adrian IV.'s pontificate was the grant of a privilege to the sovereign of his native country, bestowed at the instance of John of Salisbury. In this document the pope asserts for himself a right to dispose of all islands "on which Christ, the Sun of righteousness, hath shined;" and in virtue of this right (which, as John of Salisbury informs us, was grounded on the donation of Constantine), he authorizes Henry to invade Ireland with a view to the extension of the church, and the increase of religion and virtue, on condition that a penny shall be yearly paid from each house to the see of Rome.[p] In 1155, accordingly, the project of an expedition against the Irish—a project which had been entertained by William the Conqueror and by Henry I.[q]—was proposed by the king to his council, but, out of deference to the objections of his mother Matilda, it was abandoned.[r] Many years had passed, when

A.D. 1164-5.

A.D. 1168.

[n] Girald. Cambrens. 'Hibernia Expugnata,' iii. 17 (in Camden, 'Anglica, Normannica,' etc.); Hist. Pontific. ap. Pertz, xx. 540; Joh. Hagustald. in Twysden, 279; Pagi, xix. 54; Ware, Antiq. c. 16; Lanigan, iv. 142; King, Primer, 482-4; Memoir on Armagh, 104-5. The place of this synod is supposed to have been in Meath. Ware, ii. 58; Lanigan, l. c.

[o] A.D. 1152, Patrol. clx. 470.

[p] Adrian, Ep. 76 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Joh. Sarisb. Metalog. iv. 42 (ib. cxcix.). See Fleury, lxiv. 8; Lingard, ii. 177-8; Lanigan, iv. 159-60 (who ventures to speak of "this nonsense of the pope's being the head owner of all Christian islands"); Pauli, iii. 95. It is amusing to see how in such writers as Lanigan the feeling of race overpowers the reverence for the papacy in this stage of the history.

[q] Ang.-Sax. Chon. A.D. 1087 (transl. p. 189); Lingard, ii. 177; Lappenberg, ii. 154.

[r] Pauli, iii. 95; King, 'Primer,' 492.

Dermod Macmurrogh, the expelled king of Munster, waited on Henry in Aquitaine, and entreated aid for the recovery of his kingdom.[s] Henry, although too much engaged in other business to undertake the matter on his own account, gave license for his subjects to enlist under Dermod; and a body of adventurers, under Richard de Clare, earl of Strigul or Chepstow, who was known by the name of Strongbow, succeeded in restoring Dermod to his throne, and in winning for themselves a footing in Ireland.[t] On the death of Dermod, in 1171, Strongbow, who had married his daughter Eva, succeeded to his territories; but, finding that his own force was insufficient, he repaired to Henry, and entreated his intervention, offering to make over to him part of his acquisitions, and to hold the rest in fee under him.[u] In October 1171, accordingly, the king of England landed with an army at Waterford. A council had already been held at Armagh, in which the Irish bishops concluded that the success of the English was a judgment on their countrymen for the practice of buying English slaves,[x] and, in the hope of escaping the full retribution of being themselves enslaved by the English, it was decreed that all English slaves should be set free. At Waterford Henry received the homage of many princes, and of almost all the Irish prelates;[y] and a council was soon after held at Cashel, under the legate, Christian, bishop of Lismore, at which the English king was represented by two ecclesiastics. This synod, says Giraldus Cambrensis, endeavoured by all means to reduce the Irish church to the form of the

[s] Girald. Camb., Hib. Expugn. i. 1. See Lappenberg in Ersch and Grüber's Encyclopædia, II. xxiv. 63.

[t] Girald. i. 2-17, Will. Neubrig. ii. 26.

[u] Bromton, 1070; Trivet. A.D. 1171; Pauli, iii. 98.

[x] The modern Irish writers delight in the statement that the English, whose chroniclers are so severe on the habits of the Irish, were themselves accustomed to sell their children. See Lanigan, iv. 197; King, 'Primer,' 502.

[y] Ben. Petrib. 28; Girald. i. 31; Diceto, 558.

English.[z] It was enacted that baptism should be administered in the name of the Trinity, and in the fonts of baptismal churches; for according to the English chroniclers it had been the custom in Ireland that the child, immediately after birth, should be dipped by the father in water (or, if the father were a rich man, in milk), and that the liquid should afterwards be thrown away without any reverence. The payment of tithes, which the synod of Kells had before ordered, but seemingly in vain, was now again enacted. Another canon ordered that marriages should be according to the laws of the church; for, it is said, the Irish were in the habit of having as many wives as they thought fit, and of disregarding the ecclesiastical prohibitions as to kin.[a]

[z] i. 33. Throughout the account of these transactions, Lanigan (iv. 203, seqq.) is in a frenzy of anti-English zeal. See Mr. King's remarks on him, 'Primer,' 505-7.

[a] Girald. i. 34; Ben. Petrib. 30; Bromton, 1077. Lanigan argues that the Irish irregularity had not reached beyond a disregard of the prohibitions which extended to the seventh degree; and he interprets St. Bernard's statement that St. Malachy, when vicar of Archbishop Celsus, restored "the contract of marriage," which (with other things) the people "were ignorant or negligent of" (Vita Mal. 7), as meaning that he substituted *sponsalia de præsenti* for *sponsalia de futuro* (iv. 70-2, 88, 211). But the old writers, whether truly or not, meant to charge the Irish with more than this. (See Lanfranc. Ep. 37, and D'Achery's notes; Anselm. Ep. iii. 142.) Giraldus says that "in some parts brothers take the widows of brothers, in this adhering not to the sap, but to the bark of the old Testament." (Hib. Exp. iii. 19.) So Alexander III. had been informed that "novercas suas publice introducunt, et ex eis non erubescunt filios procreare; frater uxore fratris, eo vivente, abutitur; unus duabus se sororibus concubinis immiscet, et plerique illorum, matre relicta, filias introducunt." (Ep. 1002.) See also as to the synod of Kells, John of Hexham, in Twysden, 279. Similar abuses are imputed by Gregory VII. to the "Scots" (Patrol. clxviii. 644),—*i.e.*, apparently, to the Irish (see vol. ii. p. 256; Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 161); and the council of Westminster, in 1173, enacted that the Welsh "non consanguineis adhæreant, vel commutent uxores." Perhaps, as has been suggested (Smith's Dict. Geogr., art. *Scoti*), these later charges may have grown out of what St. Jerome says as to the Scots of his day—"Scotorum natio uxores proprias non habet; et, quasi Platonis Politiam legerit, et Catonis sectetur exemplum, nulla apud eos conjux propria est, sed ut cuique libitum fuerit, pecudum more lasciviunt." (Adv. Jovinian. ii. 7; cf. Ep. lxix. 3.) Compare Cæsar as to the manners of the Britons, De Bello Gall. v. 14; and the strange stories told of the English in the middle of the 15th century by the Byzantine Laonicus Chalcocondylas, De Rebus Turcicis, l. ii. p. 49, ed. Paris.

The clergy were to be exempt from all taxes and lay exactions,[b] a privilege which, in combination with the wealth provided by the introduction of tithes, had the effect of raising the Irish clergy from their previous subordination under the lay chiefs to a position like that of their brethren in other parts of the Latin church.[c] The payment of Peterpence was also enacted; and it was ordered that the service of the church should everywhere be conformed to that of England.[d] The proceedings of the synod were reported to the pope, who in three letters, dated in September 1172, expressed his approval of them, and desired the princes, nobles, and clergy of Ireland to co-operate for the reformation of religion.[e]

The chroniclers of the time tell us that, while Henry was in Ireland, all communication with England or the continent was prevented by the violence of the winds;[f] but it has been suspected that this stoppage of communication was partly caused by the king's wish to shut out the risk of dangerous missives from Rome, on account of the recent murder of archbishop Becket.[g] On Easter-day 1172, in consequence of information that two legates had arrived in Normandy with a commission to decide in that matter, Henry embarked at Cork, and, after a rapid journey across England, proceeded to meet them at Avranches. His departure was followed by a rising of the Irish; and in order to suppress this he availed himself of the papal authority, by causing to be published in a council at Waterford the long-neglected letter of Adrian IV., together with a bull of Alexander III. to

[b] One part of this exemption was "quod de villis ecclesiarum cibus illedetestabilis qui quater in anno a vicinis conitibus exigitur, de cætero nullatenus exigatur." Girald. i. 34.

[c] King, 'Primer,' 559-60.

[d] Girald. i. 33-4; Ben. Petrib. 30; Bromton, 1071; King, 'Primer,' 521-5.

[e] Epp. 1002-4 (Patrol. cc.). Lanigan vehemently denies that the synod made a report to the pope; but see King, 'Primer,' 525; Pauli, iii. 100.

[f] R. de Diceto, 559; Girald. i. 35

[g] Lingard, ii. 190.

the same effect.[h] The insurrection proved unsuccessful; in 1175 Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, made his submission to Henry at Windsor,[i] and Ireland was—partly through the influence of English clergy who were put into the highest dignities of the church[k]—gradually reduced to the same ecclesiastical condition as other countries of the west. Many of the old Irish monasteries, which had been desolated by the Danish invasions, were now replaced by brotherhoods of Cistercians and of Augustinian canons;[l] and, among other outward changes, may be mentioned the abandonment of the rude style of church-building in wood and wattles which was known by the name of "Scottish work,"[m] and to which the Irish had been in some districts so exclusively addicted that, when St. Malachy attempted to build a church of stone, he was met by an indignant cry of "We are Scots, and not Frenchmen!"[n]

The English and other contemporary writers are very strong in their denunciations of the Irish national character, and of the alleged barbarism of the people;[o]

[h] Ussher, 'Sylloge,' No. 47. See King, 'Primer,' 530.

[i] Ben. Petrib. 122; Bromton, 1106.

[k] This was the same system which the Normans had followed in England. As an instance of it, Mr. King remarks that, from the appointment of John Cumine, an Englishman, as archbishop of Dublin, in 1181, no Irishman held that see until 1663! ('Primer,' 574, 604-7.) Honorius III., in 1220, desired his legate to abolish a rule that no Irish clerk, "quantumcunque litteratus et honestus existat," should be admitted to any dignity in England. Theiner, Monumenta, 16, 23.

[l] King, 563, 573.

[m] "Opus scoticum" (Bern. Vita S. Mal. 14). So Bede says that Finan built his cathedral in Lindisfarne, A.D. 652—"More Scottorum, non de lapide sed de robore secto atque harundine contexuit" (iii. 25, init.). Benedict of Peterborough states that Henry II. ordered a wattled church to be built in honour of St. Andrew, "ad morem patriæ illius." 31.

[n] Bernard, 61. There were, however, stone churches (although small) in some parts of the country, as will appear from Mr. Fergusson's 'Handbook' (917, seqq., ed. 1), if we distrust Lanigan's (iv. 128) testimony to the same purpose.

[o] *E. g.*, Bernard, Vita Mal. 16-17, and elsewhere; Girald. de Rebus a se gestis, i. 14; Hibernia Expugn. iii. 10, 19-22, 27; Bromton, 1075-7; Will. Neubrig, iii. 9, p. 237. Mr. Dimock defends the Irish bishops against the charge of neglecting their duty. Pref. to Giraldus, vol. v. p. lxvi.

but, without rejecting these charges so entirely as the patriotism of the more injudicious later Irish writers requires,[p] we cannot doubt that they are much exaggerated, while it seems certain that the calamities of the Danish invasions had thrown the civilization of Ireland greatly backward.[q] Giraldus expresses surprise that a nation which had professed Christianity from the days of St. Patrick should still be so ignorant and barbarous; but he accounts for this by the fact that the Irish were more inclined to religious contemplation than to such work as required courage and zeal, and that therefore their clergy had been rather monks than evangelists.[r] Hence, he says, it is remarkable that the saints of Ireland are all confessors, and not one of them is a martyr; and he reports the answer which Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, made to this remark in the age of the English invasions, when the murder of Thomas of Canterbury was fresh in all memories. "Our people, however rude, have always respected the church, so that there has been no opportunity of martyrdom. But now a nation is come into the realm which is in the habit of making martyrs, and Ireland will have its share of them."[s] We must, indeed, modify Giraldus's statement as to the clergy by the recollection of the many missionaries whom the Irish church sent forth; but it would seem that the zeal which sought an exercise in foreign missions disdained the humbler labours of the pastoral office at home.[t]

VII. The claims of the archbishops of Hamburg or Bremen to jurisdiction over the Danish church had been resisted or impatiently endured.[u] Adalbert of Bremen,

[p] As Lanigan, Book xxx.
[q] See Lappenberg, in Ersch and Grüber's Encyclopædia, II. xxiv. 61; Pauli, iii. 92.
[r] Hib. Exp. iii. 28-30.
[s] Ib. 32.
[t] Neander, Bern. 479.
[u] See vol. iv. p. 98.

who had even conceived the idea of erecting his see into a patriarchate,[x] obtained from Leo IX. and Alexander II. privileges by which he and his successors were authorized to consecrate bishops for all the northern kingdoms, even against the will of the sovereigns,[y] and Alexander forbade the king of Norway to violate the rights of Bremen by getting bishops consecrated in France or England.[z] But, on the other hand, the Danish kings entreated that their kingdom might have an independent primate;[a] and, at the council of Bari, in 1097, Eric the Good, who was present, obtained from Urban II. a promise to that effect—a promise which was the more readily given because archbishop Liemar of Bremen was obnoxious to the pope on account of his adherence to Henry IV.[b] The Danish king died in Cyprus, on his way to the Holy Land; but in 1103 or the following year a legate appeared in Scandinavia, and made choice of Lund, in Schonen (which then belonged to Denmark), as the seat of a primate to whom the northern kingdoms, with Iceland, Greenland, and other dependencies, should be subject. It would seem, however, that the bull for this arrangement was not completed;[c] and through the influence of the emperor Lothair, who wished to recover the old superiority of Germany over the north, Innocent II., in 1133, addressed letters to the archbishop of Hamburg and other persons concerned, by which the jurisdiction of that see was confirmed in all its former extent, and the claims of Lund were in no way recognized.[d]

A.D. 1054-1062.

[x] See vol. iv. p. 269.

[y] Leo IX., Ep. 77 (Patrol. cxliii.); Adam. Brem. iii. Supplem. (ib. cxlvi. 620); Münter, ii. 81.

[z] Ep. 3 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

[a] See Greg. VII., Epp. ii. 51, 75.

[b] Saxo Grammaticus, l. xii. pp. 227-9; Münter, i. 84; Dahlmann, i. 208-13.

[c] See Münter, ii. 89; Dahlmann, i. 238.

[d] Epp. 138-41 (Patrol. clxxix.). In addition to older popes, Innocent refers to his immediate predecessors, Calixtus and Honorius.

The archbishops of Lund afterwards recovered their independence of Hamburg, but the Swedes and the Norwegians were discontented on account of their subjection to Lund. The mission of Cardinal Breakspear (afterwards Adrian IV.) under Eugenius III. resulted in the establishment of Nidarôs (or Drontheim) as the seat of a primate for Norway, the islands, and Greenland.[e] The legate provided for the erection of a primacy of Sweden, which was afterwards fixed at Upsal; while Eskil of Lund was in some measure consoled for the loss of his metropolitan rights over Sweden and Norway by being invested with the office of *legatus natus* for the whole north.[f] It was also ordered by Alexander III. that the archbishops of Upsal should be consecrated by those of Lund;[g] and this became a subject of contention which lasted even into the fifteenth century.[h] The German prelates, however, had not yet relinquished their pretensions to jurisdiction over the Scandinavian kingdoms, as appears from a letter of Lucius III., who tells Hartwig, archbishop of Hamburg, in 1185, that the consideration of the question must be deferred, because the troubled state of the north prevented the attendance of the bishops in order to an investigation of it.[i] And in another quarter the archbishops of Nidarôs were involved in contentions with those of York, as to jurisdiction over the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man.[k]

The gospel, in making its way in the northern kingdoms, had to struggle both against the barbarism of the people and against the faults of its own ministers. The

[e] Anast. IV., Ep. 84, Nov. 1154 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Saxo Gram. l. xiv. p. 263; Snorro, iii. 261; Münter, ii. 93-6, 105, 108.

[f] Saxo, l. xiv. p. 264; Anastas. Epp. 86-7; Alex. III., Epp. 260-1; Münter, ii. 102-7, 307. There are many letters of Alexander III. as to the northern kingdoms—*e. g.*, 415-16, 633-4, 636-7, 973-7, 979, 984, 1447.

[g] Ep. 260, Aug. 1, 1164.

[h] Münter, ii. 109-22. See Innoc. III. Ep. 419 (Patrol. ccxiv.).

[i] Ep. 231 (Patrol. cci.).

[k] Münter, ii. 97-9; Grub, i. 251-5.

cost of the new religion gave occasion to serious troubles. In Sweden complaints were raised that dying persons were induced to make bequests to the church without the consent of their heirs; and Alexander III. ordered that the amount of such bequests should be limited.[1] In 1087 the imposition of tithes in Denmark produced a commotion in which Canute the Good—afterwards the patron saint of the kingdom—was slain;[m] and a century later the impost, with the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, provoked a violent outbreak in Schonen, where it was demanded that the archbishoprick should be abolished as a matter of useless expense, and that the clergy should marry, "lest, as heretofore, they should abuse the wives and children" of the peasantry.[n] Breakspear, on his legation, succeeded in imposing the payment of Peterpence in Norway and Sweden,[o] and a very similar exaction—although Danish historians indignantly deny that it was the same—appears to have been established in Denmark.[p] To Absalom, bishop of Roskield, and afterwards archbishop of Lund, a prelate who united to his ecclesiastical function the characters of a warrior and a statesman,[q] is ascribed the reduction of the Danish church to uniformity in the celebration of divine offices.[r]

A.D. 1180.

In Denmark and Norway, the archbishops and bishops almost rivalled the sovereigns in dignity, in the secular pomp and state which they maintained, and in the privileges which they enjoyed. Among the evidences

[1] Alex. Ep. 1147; Geijer, i. 144. In this and another letter (975), Alexander complains of strange and scandalous disorders in the Swedish church.

[m] Saxo Gramm. l. xii., pp. 219-21; Dahlmann, 201-3.

[n] Saxo, l. xv. pp. 366-8; Gieseler, II. ii. 284; Münter, ii. 344-5; Dahlmann, 317-21.

[o] Geijer, i. 138.

[p] Dahlmann, i. 184-6. See Münter, ii. 455-67.

[q] "Non minus piratam se quam pontificem gessit." Saxo, l. xiv. p. 281. See Dahlm. i. 279, seqq., 348-9; Münter, ii. 349-51. He died in 1201.

[r] Arnold. Lubec. iv. 18.

of this, it is recorded that Pope Celestine III. in 1194 renewed to Henry, archbishop of Drontheim, the royal privilege of buying falcons.[s]

The Finns were subdued by Eric IX. of Sweden in a war to which a religious character was given, and attempts were made to spread the gospel among them.[t] Alexander III. complains that their pretence of conversion was commonly given up when it had served the purpose of saving them from danger.[u] Henry, archbishop of Upsal, an Englishman, who met his death among this people, was canonized by Adrian IV., and is celebrated as the apostle of Finland.[x]

About A.D. 1157.

A.D. 1158.

VIII. The conversion of the Pomeranians, a rude and fierce Slavonic people, who were at continual war with their neighbours of Poland,[y] had been attempted as early as the year 1000 by Boleslav, king of Poland, who founded the see of Colberg with a view to this work;[z] but the attempt was fruitless, the bishoprick ended with its first holder, Reinbern, and later endeavours on the part of the Poles had succeeded only in producing false and transient appearances of conversion.[a] About the year 1120 a Spaniard named Bernard, who had been consecrated by Paschal II. (probably in the room of some bishop deposed for adhering to the imperial cause), on finding that he could not gain possession of his see, resolved to undertake a mission to the Pomeranians. But the poverty of his appearance excited the contempt

[s] Patrol. ccvi. 1041; Münter, ii. 26, 41.

[t] Schröckh, xxv. 279; Hardwick, 222.

[u] Ep. 976.

[x] Acta SS., Jan. 19, pp. 613-14; Geijer, ii. 142; Schröckh, xxv. 279-80.

[y] See Chron. Polon. ii.-iii. (Patrol. clx.). The name of Pomerania is derived from *pommo*, near, and *moriz*, the sea. Note on Herbord, Vita Ottonis, ii. 1 (Pertz, xii.).

[z] Schröckh, xxv. 221. Thietmar (iv. 28) mentions Colberg as a bishoprick suffragan to Gnesen, when that archbishoprick was erected, A.D. 1000.

[a] *E.g.*, Chron. Polon. ii. 44 (A.D. 1108).

of the people, who are described as living in such plenty that no poor man or beggar was to be seen among them.[b] "How," they asked, "can we believe that a man so miserable as not even to have shoes can be the messenger of the God to whom all things belong?" It was in vain that Bernard offered to prove his truth by allowing a house to be burnt over him, and even that he assailed a sacred pillar with an axe; he was put on board a boat, and dismissed, with a charge to exercise his zeal, if he would, in preaching to the fowls and to the fishes.[c] After this failure he withdrew to a monastery at Bamberg; and there his reports as to Pomerania were heard with interest by the bishop, Otho.

Otho, a native of Swabia, was born about 1060, and in his youth had sought a livelihood as a schoolmaster in Poland, where he learned the language of the country.[d] The duke, Wladislav (for this prince had given up the royal title),[e] made him his chaplain, and employed him to negociate a marriage with a sister of Henry IV.; and thus Otho became known to the emperor, who invited him to his court, appointed him his chancellor,[f] and in 1102 nominated him to the see of Bamberg. The canons of the cathedral expressed their disappointment that a clerk of obscure origin was recommended to them, whereas they had expected some man of distinguished family and already known to them. "If you wish," said Henry, "to know who he is, know that I am his father, and

A.D. 1088?

A.D. 1097?

[b] Herbord, ii. 7, who tells us in particular that "carratam pro denario recentis acciperes allecis, de cujus sapore vel crassitudine gulositatis arguerer si dicerem quod sentio." ib. 40.

[c] Ebbo, Vita Ottonis, ii. 1 (Pertz, xii.).

[d] Herbord, i. 1; Monach. Priefling. i. 2 (Pertz, xii.), Giesebr. iii. 1177. [The genuine form of Herbord's life is printed in vol. xx. of Pertz's collection, but my references are to that in vol. xii.] There is a life in Patrol. clxxiii., reprinted from Ussermann's 'Episcopatus Bambergensis,' S. Blas. 1802.

[e] Roëpell, i. 206, 667.

[f] Herbord, i. 2-3; Ebbo, i. 3; Roëpell, i. 208.

that your church must be his mother."[g] Otho had already refused two bishopricks, from a scruple that such preferment, being intended by the emperor as a reward for his services, might involve something of simony; but he regarded the third offer as a sign of God's will, and accepted it.[h] He received investiture in the usual form from the emperor, but, not being satisfied with this, he waited on Paschal II. at Anagni, Whitsunday, 1106. laid the episcopal ring and staff at his feet, and received a second investiture from the pope, who then proceeded to consecrate him.[i] In the contests between Henry V. and the pope, Otho took the hierarchical side, but with a moderation which was so unsatisfactory to the zealots of his party that Adalbert of Mentz even threatened him with excommunication.[k] He rebuilt his cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire; he was distinguished for his exemplary life and successful labours as a bishop,[l] and was especially famous for an unrivalled power of preaching to the people in their native tongue.[m] In 1111 Paschal, in acknowledgment of his merits, bestowed on him and his successors the privilege of using the archiepiscopal pall and crosier.[n]

Boleslav III. of Poland, a prince whose zeal for religion was quickened by remorse for having put to death his brother and competitor Zbigniew,[o] reduced the eastern part of Pomerania to tribute in 1121. Eight thousand of his prisoners, with their wives and children, were settled

[g] Herb. i. 7; cf. Ebbo, i. 8.

[h] Otto, Epp. 8, seqq. (Patrol. clxxiii.); Ebbo, i. 11.

[i] Otto, Ep. 11; Herb. i. 9-10; Köpke, in Pertz, 753.

[k] Otto, Epp. 17, 21, 34, 47; Codex Udalrici, Epp. 33, 336, 337, etc. (in Eccard, ii.); Ekkehard, A.D. 1106, 1114; Herbord, i. 12, and Köpke's note; Ussermann, c. 29 (Patrol. clxxiii.); Giesebr. iii. 983-4.

[l] Innoc. II., Epp. 58, 353; Herb. i. 24-30, 41-2, 45, etc.; Ebbo, i. 16-19; ii. 14, etc.; Ekkeh. 1124; Giesebr. iii. 984-5.

[m] Herb. i. 22.

[n] Otto, Ep. 13; Monach. Prieff. i. 7.

[o] Roëpell, i. 260-1.

on the Polish frontier and compelled to profess Christianity; and the duke conceived the design of converting the whole country.[p] Finding that his bishops, discouraged by the failure of former attempts, hung back, the duke bethought him of the bishop of Bamberg, whom he had known as his father's chaplain; and Otho, with the consent of pope Calixtus and of the emperor, gladly undertook the work, although he had already passed his sixtieth year.[q] Warned by Bernard's experience, he resolved to present himself to the Pomeranians in such fashion as should prove to them that his expedition was not undertaken for the sake of gaining by them. He furnished himself largely with horses, splendid vestments, rich stuffs, precious vessels for sacred uses, and with various things which were likely to be acceptable as presents; and in April 1124 he set out attended by a numerous body of clergy.[r]

At Gnesen the missionaries were received with great honour by Boleslav, who supplied them with interpreters, a military guard, and provisions; and, after having overcome the difficulties of the journey into Pomerania, they were welcomed by the duke, Wartislav, who had been baptized when a prisoner or a hostage in Poland, although he had not since ventured to avow himself a Christian.[s] At Pyritz, the first considerable town which they reached, seven thousand converts were speedily made; and these, after a week's instruction in the faith, followed by a fast of three days, were baptized in large casks or troughs, which were sunk into the earth, and were surrounded by curtains. The solemnity and decency with which the rite was performed is said to have made a great impression, and this was doubtless strengthened by the presents

[p] Herb. ii. 5; Roëpell. i. 267-8.
[q] Otto, Ep. 25; Herb. i. 5; ii. 6; Ebbo, ii. 3; Ekkeh. A.D. 1124.
[r] Herb. ii. 7-8; Ebbo, ii. 2-3.
[s] Herb. ii. 9-11.

which were bestowed on every convert. Among the duties which Otho inculcated in his addresses were the abandonment of polygamy and of the custom of putting female infants to death; the doctrine of the sacraments was laid down; the converts were charged to communicate three or four times a year; and they were exhorted to devote their sons to be educated for the ministry of the church.[t]

At Camin Otho found the duchess, a Christian, who eagerly exerted herself for the furtherance of his mission. The duke agreed to give up the twenty-four concubines who had shared his bed; many who had been Christians professed repentance for having forsaken the faith; a church was built, and, in the course of forty days, a great number of converts was made.[u] A wealthy lady, annoyed at finding that labour on the Lord's day was forbidden, broke out into blasphemous words against the new religion, called her servants to reap as they had been used to do under the gods who had hitherto prospered the country, and proceeded to show them the example; but hardly had she begun, when she suddenly fell down, and "breathed forth her guilty soul into the fire of hell." This judgment, we are told, produced a general awe, and served to procure obedience to Otho's precepts.[x]

At Julin the bishop's life was in danger, and he was driven out of the town; but he afterwards obtained from the chief inhabitants a promise that they would be guided by the example of the capital, Stettin.[y] To Stettin,[z] therefore, he repaired, but for some time his preaching was ineffectual. The Pomeranians, it is said, were free from the vices which poverty engenders; they were surprised that the missionaries locked up their property, as among themselves no such protection was necessary.[a]

[t] Herb. ii. 14-17, 32; Ebbo, ii. 5; Mon. Priefl. ii. 13. [u] Herb. ii. 18-21. [x] Ebbo, ii. 12. [y] Herb. ii. 22. [z] Ib. 23-4. [a] Ib. i 40.

"Why should we turn Christians?" they asked; "among Christians there are thieves and robbers, men are punished by loss of eyes and feet, and they practise all manner of cruelty and wickedness towards each other." It was agreed, however, that the duke of Poland should be consulted, and in the meantime Otho preached on market-days to attentive audiences of the country people.[b] His first converts were two youths, the sons of an influential man named Domuzlav. Their mother, who had been brought up as a Christian, was delighted at finding that they had been baptized, and by her the servants of the family, with many of their kindred and neighbours, and at length Domuzlav himself, were brought over to the faith. The boys themselves, by celebrating the kindness, munificence, and charitable labours of the bishop, as contrasted with the behaviour of the heathen priests, persuaded many of their own age to become converts, and the people were disposed to look on him as a god who had descended among them for the good of their country.[c]

An answer was at length received from Boleslav, who styled himself "the enemy of all pagans," and rebuked the Stettiners for their treatment of Otho, but declared that for his sake, and as an inducement to receive the yoke of Christ, he would remit one-half of the tribute which they were bound to pay.[d] Fortified by this assistance, Otho told the people that he would prove to them the impotence of their gods. After having received the holy eucharist, he and his clergy made a general attack on the idols, which fell without resistance, and the effect of this success was heightened by the disinterestedness with which he refused to accept any share of the vast wealth of the principal temple. The triple head of Triglav, the Slavonic Neptune, was sent as a trophy to pope

[b] Herb. ii. 24. Priefl. ii. 9.
[c] Ib. 26-8; Ebbo, ii. 9; Monach.
[d] Herb. ii. 29-30

Honorius, and the temple was converted into a church, dedicated to the martyr St. Adalbert.[e] A splendid black horse, which had been employed to decide questions of peace and war by walking over nine lances laid on the ground, was sent into another country for sale, "as being fit rather for a chariot than for prophesying"; and the priest who had the charge of him—the only person who ventured to oppose the general movement—was suddenly struck dead.[f] The people of Julin—a town which claimed Julius Cæsar as its founder, and reckoned among the objects of its idolatry a rusty spear which was said to have been his[g]—fulfilled their promise by conforming to the example of Stettin. Two-and-twenty thousand of the inhabitants received baptism; and Otho, after having built two churches there and having appointed a bishop, returned to Bamberg, where he arrived on Easter-eve 1125.[h]

Otho again visited the scene of his missionary labours in 1127 or 1128,[i] when he sailed down the Saale and the Elbe, and entered the country from the west. At Demmin, he ransomed and baptized many Leutician captives whom duke Wartislav had taken, and thus made an impression which was strengthened by the duke's commendations of his wealth, his greatness, and his disinterested zeal.[k] As he advanced into the country, he found that the rapid successes of his former labours had not been lasting. The number of clergy had been insufficient, and the heathen party had used all possible means to recover their influence. At Wolgast the people had been

[e] Herb. ii. 30-1; Ebbo, iii. 1. See as to another image of Triglav, Ebbo, ii. 13.

[f] Herb. ii. 33. Saxo Grammaticus tells us of a white horse on which Swantevit, the god of Rügen, was believed to ride at night. l. xiv. p. 320.

[g] Mon. Priefl. ii. 6, 16.

[h] Herb. ii. 36-40; Ebbo, ii. 11-18; Ekkehard, A.D. 1125.

[i] 1126, according to Mosheim, ii. 418; 1127, Mansi in Baron. xviii. 419; Köpke, in Pertz, xii.; 1128, Pagi, in Baron. l. c.; Neand. vii. 23; Roëpell, i. 252.

[k] Herb. iii. 2; Ebbo, iii. 6, 9.

exasperated against the missionaries by the trick of a priest who dressed himself up, and, showing himself to a rustic in a wood, declared himself to be the old god of the country.[l] At Stettin a mixed religion, "after the manner of the Samaritans," had been established. A priest had taken advantage of an unfavourable season, attended by disease among men and cattle, to assault the altar of St. Adalbert; but the hand which held his hammer fell powerless. On this he exclaimed, "It is useless to strive against the Germans' god; let us worship both him and our old gods"; and a heathen altar had been erected beside the Christian altar. As Otho was preaching, a burly and loud-voiced priest excited the people to fall on him; but, as they lifted up their spears, their arms were stiffened in the air. Then Otho proceeded to discourse on the power of the true God, and at his blessing the use of the stiffened limbs was restored. The pagan altar was demolished; and the catching of a fish so large that all the people of Stettin partook of it was regarded as setting the seal of heaven on their reconversion.[m] At Julin a man, on being reproved by one of the missionaries for reaping on the festival of the Assumption, said, "Yesterday we were forbidden to reap because it was the Lord's day, and to-day we are again told to be idle. What is the meaning of this religion, which bids us cease from good and necessary things? or when shall we get our harvest in?" But as he began to cut his corn, he fell down dead, and his wife, who had followed his example, was unable to unloose her hold either on her sickle or on the corn which she had grasped, until after her husband had been buried.[n] In addition to the effect of his preaching and of his alleged miracles, Otho was powerfully aided by the support of the duke of

[l] Ebbo, iii. 8; Herb. iii. 4.
[m] Ib. 13-20; Ebbo. iii. 1, 17; Mon. Priefl. iii. 8.
[n] Herb. iii. 20; Ebbo. iii. 22.

Poland, and by prevailing on him to give up a projected invasion of Pomerania he increased his own influence among the people.[o] The conversion of Pomerania, rapid, wholesale, and in part effected by force,[p] could not but be very imperfect; yet from the time of Otho's second mission the country always retained its profession of Christianity.[q] After an absence of somewhat more than a year, Otho returned to Bamberg, in obedience to a summons from the emperor,[r] and he died in 1139.

Among the designs which Otho entertained was that of a mission to the heathens of Rügen. The chief idol of these people, Swantevit, was worshipped with human sacrifices; no merchant was allowed to trade on the island until after having made some offering to the god;[s] and so strongly were the Rugians attached to their religion, that, on being informed of the conversion of Stettin, they broke off all intercourse with the traders of that city, sank such of their ships as were within reach, and threatened to kill any missionaries who should venture to land on their shore.[t] One of Otho's companions, named Ulric, resolved to brave the danger; but he was thrice driven back by storms, and Otho himself was unable to make any attempt.[u] In 1135 the Rugians agreed to receive Christianity from the Danes on condition that Swantevit should be spared; but as soon as the Danish fleet was gone, they drove out a bishop who had been left among them, and resumed their profession of paganism.[x] It was not until 1168

[o] Herb. iii. 10; Ebbo, iii. 13.

[p] Id. i. 18.

[q] Neand. vii. 23, 41.

[r] Herb. iii. 32; Ebbo, iii. 24.

[s] Herb. iii. 10; Helmold, i. 36, 52; ii. 12; Saxo Gramm. l. xiv. pp. 319-21. It is said that in the ninth century Rügen was given by Lothair I. to the abbey of Corvey, from which some monks were sent into the island, and there built a chapel in honour of their patron St. Vitus; and that on the expulsion of the monks *St. Vitus* was turned into the idol *Swantevit*. Helmold, vi. 12; Saxo, l. xiv. 319; Schröckh, xxiii. 64-7; Münter, ii. 765.

[t] Ebbo, iii. 23; Herb. iii. 31.

[u] Ib. 10; Ebbo, iii. 14.

[x] Dahlmann, i. 248.

that the paganism of the islanders was overcome by the arms of Waldemar, king of Denmark, and by the skilful management of Absalom, then bishop of Roskield, to which see the island was subjected by Alexander III.[y] But the annalist of Magdeburg speaks of the Christianity thus "impressed" on the Rugians as "a shadow, which in a short time was done away with by Waldemar's avarice, and by the scantiness and inactivity of the teachers."[z]

In the neighbouring country, where the Christian king Gottschalk had reigned in the preceding century,[a] the progress of the gospel was urged on by the power of the emperor Lothair, of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg, and Henry the Lion, of Saxony, while it was resisted by the discontent of the Slavonic population at the sway of their German masters.[b] At one time a formidable insurrection was excited by the exactions of Norbert, as archbishop of Magdeburg; churches were destroyed, the Christians were slain or driven out, and the people loudly declared that they would rather die than again become Christians.[c] During the general fervour against infidels in 1147, while Lewis and Conrad led their hosts to the East, and other crusaders fought the Moors in Spain, a crusade was set on foot against the pagans of north Germany, under Henry the Lion, and Albero, archbishop of Hamburg. The country was invaded by two German armies, which are reckoned at 60,000 and 40,000 respectively; and two rival claimants of the Danish crown combined for the holy cause. But the war was carried on with little spirit, and was ended

[y] Helmold, ii. 12-13; Saxo, l. xiv. 324-6 (who says that on the destruction of Swantevit, the devil was seen to run out of his temple in the shape of a small dark animal); Alex. III., Ep. 632; Pagi, xix. 238; Dahlmann, i. 291-6; Neand. vii. 42-4.

[z] A.D. 1169 (Pertz, xvi.).

[a] See vol. iv. p. 90.

[b] Schröckh, xxv. 250, seqq.

[c] Ebbo, Vita Ottonis, iii. 3; Schröckh, xxv. 252.

by the submission of the Slaves to receive a nominal baptism.[d]

In this region the most eminent preacher of the gospel was Vicelin,[e] a pupil of Anselm of Laon, and afterwards a Præmonstratensian, who was consecrated as bishop of Oldenburg, and laboured with single-minded zeal from 1121 until disabled by palsy two years before his death, which took place in 1154.[f] When required by Henry the Lion to do homage for his bishoprick, Vicelin was strongly dissuaded by the archbishop and clergy of Hamburg. "We submit to the emperor," they said, "because by this submission to one we gain the power of ruling over many; for what duke or marquis is there who does not desire to become the church's vassal, whether it will or no?"—but they urged that to do homage to a duke would be a degradation of the church. After some hesitation, however, Vicelin complied, in order to ensure Henry's support;[g] and Frederick Barbarossa afterwards bestowed on the duke authority to nominate and invest bishops for all the Slavonic territory which had been subdued by his ancestors or himself. In consequence of this grant, Vicelin's example was followed by his successor, Gerold, and by the bishops of Ratzeburg and Mecklenburg, "for His sake who humbled himself for us, and that the newly-planted church should take no damage;"[h] but on the fall of Henry, in 1180, Frederick withdrew the three bishopricks from their subjection to the dukes of Saxony.[i] As great numbers of the Slaves had perished in war, many Germans,

[d] Eugen. III., Epp. 166, 214 (Patrol. clxxx.); Annal. Magdeb., in Pertz, xvi. 188-9; Helmold, i. 62-5; Wilken, iii. 89, seqq.; Luden, x. 258-61; Dahlmann, i. 238. For a striking description of the country, see [Pseudo] Gunther, l. vi., init. (Patrol. ccxii. 404-5).

[e] There is a metrical life of him in Leibnitz, i. 774, seqq. See, too, Helmold, i. 42, seqq.; Münter, ii. 776-80; Herzog, art. *Vicelin*.

[f] Vita, 778; Helmold, i. 75, 78.

[g] Ib. 69, 70, 73.

[h] Ib. 70, 87, 89.

[i] Arnold. Lub. ii. 24; Albert Stad. in Pertz, xvi. 349; Schröckh, xxv. 276.

Hollanders, and Flemings, were brought in to supply their places; and this contributed powerfully to establish the profession of Christianity in those regions.[k]

CHAPTER XII.

SECTARIES—VISIONARIES.

I. ALEXIUS COMNENUS receives from his daughter Anna the title of "thirteenth apostle,"[a] for his zeal against the Paulicians of Thrace, who, in addition to their heterodoxy, had offended him by deserting him in his wars with the Normans of Southern Italy.[b] Under the same emperor another remarkable party attracted for a time the attention of the Byzantine government.

The Euchites or Massalians, who derived their name from their practice of praying,[c] are mentioned among the sects of the fourth century by Epiphanius[d] and Theodoret,[e] and are said to have held that every man has within him from his birth an evil spirit, who is to be kept down only by unceasing prayer.[f] The party had been generally supposed to have been long extinct; but in the eleventh century it either emerged again from obscurity, or a new sect, known by the same name and holding similar opinions, arose independently.[g] These later euchites, being persecuted by the Greeks, sought a

[k] Helmold, i. 83, 87.

[a] L. xiv. p. 453, ed. Paris.

[b] A. Comn. l. v. p. 131; l. xiv. pp. 451-7; Gieseler, II. ii. 678.

[c] Εὔχομαι in Greek, and צָלָא in Chaldee, meaning *to pray*. Petav. n. in Epiphan. Hæres. 80.

[d] Hær. 80.

[e] Hist. Eccl. iv. 10; Adv. Hær. iv. 14. Cf. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 52.

[f] Theodoret. adv. Hær. iv. 11; Gieseler, I. ii. 15; II. i. 401; Theophil. Cpol. de Receptione Hæreticorum, in Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 48.

[g] See Neand. vi. 345-7; Gieseler, II. i. 401.

vent for their opinions among the Bulgarians and Slaves who bordered on the empire; and they now, perhaps with opinions somewhat affected by contact with the Paulicians,[h] attempted, under the name of Bogomiles, to regain a footing at Constantinople.[i]

The new name of these sectaries has been variously derived—from Bulgarian words which might refer to their frequent prayers for the divine mercy; and as meaning in Slavonic "Friends of God."[k] In many respects their opinions resembled those of the early gnostics. God, they said, had two sons, the elder of whom, Satanael, was associated with Him in the government of the world, until for rebellion he was cast down from heaven, with a third part of the angelic host, who had shared his crime.[l] Satanael, like the demiurge of gnosticism, framed the world, and created man, on

[h] Anna Comn. l. xiv. p. 486.

[i] Among the authorities as to the Bogomiles, one of the chief is Euthymius Zigabenus (or rather Zigadenus), in c. 27 of his 'Panoplia Dogmatica,' of which a Latin translation may be found in some editions of the Bibliotheca Patrum, and in D'Argentré's 'Collectio Judiciorum,' i. 2, seqq. The only edition of the original, until M. Migne republished it in his 'Patrologia,' was one printed at Tergovist, in Wallachia, in 1710. In this the section on Mahometanism is omitted, for a reason like that which caused the section against the papacy to be omitted in some western editions of the Latin. The copy in the British Museum is interesting, as having been one of the "four very learned books" sent by the eastern clergy to the section of Nonjurors who corresponded with them under the name of the "catholic remnant of the British churches." (See Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors, 354.) Euthymius drew up his account of the Bogomiles at the desire of Alexius (p. ρξθ'. 2). Anna Comnena (l. xv. p. 590) says that her feeling as a woman and a princess forbids her to report the doctrines and practices of the sect, and refers to this account. For Euthymius' other works against them, see Gieseler, II. ii. 679, J. C. Wolf's Historia Bogomilorum (Witemb. 1712) is chiefly founded on Euthymius. See, too, C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cathares, ii. 57, seqq.

[k] Βὸγ μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Βουλγάρων γλῶσσα καλεῖ τὸν Θεὸν, μίλουι δέ τὸ ἐγέησον. (Euthym. Panopl. 27, init.) Constantine Harmenopulus says that this is in the language of the Mysians. (De Hæres. 19, Patrol. Gr. cl.) But the Slavonic etymology seems to be now generally received. Gieseler, II. ii. 680; Neand. viii. 277; C. Schmidt, ii. 285.

[l] Euthym. Panopl. ρξθ'—ρό, *a*; Apocryphal Gospel of St. John, in Thilo, Cod. Apocryph. 885-7; Psellus de Operatione Dæmonum, 3-4, ed. Boissonade, Norimb. 1838; Neand, vi. 344-5.

whom God, at his entreaty, bestowed a living soul.[m] But Satanael became jealous of the privileges granted to his creature, and in the form of a serpent he begat Cain; in consequence of which he was stripped of the divine form which had until then been left to him, and of his creative power.[n] Continuing his enmity against mankind, he gave the law by his servant Moses, and deluded the Jews into the belief that he was the supreme God. But in the 5500th year of the world, God in compassion sent forth his Son or Word, the archangel Michael, as to whose birth and humanity the doctrine of the sect was docetic.[o] Satanael, like the demiurge, instigated the Jews to persecute and slay the Christ; and after the Son's resurrection he was punished by being deprived of the *el*, which he had retained as part of his name, and thus was reduced to Satan.[p] It was held that the Son and the Spirit (who was said to be begotten by the Son)[q] would be reabsorbed into the Godhead when their work in relation to man should be completed; but that in the meantime respect should be paid to Satan and his angels, although not out of love, but lest they should do hurt.[r] It was said that God, although immaterial, had the form of an old man with a flowing beard; that the Son appeared as a bearded man, the Spirit as a smooth-faced youth; and under these forms the bogomiles professed to see them in dreams and visions.[s] As in older heretical systems, it was taught that men are by nature of various classes;[t] and it was held that at death the body is to be shaken

[m] Euthym. *ρό, b;* Thilo, 888.

[n] Ib. *ρό, c.*

[o] Ib. *ρξθ′, d, ροά, a, c;* Thilo, 838-9, 892.

[p] The *el* had been left to him ὡς ἐγγελικόν. Euth. *ρνά, a.*

[q] Ib. *ρξθ′, d.*

[r] Ib. *ρξθ′, c; ροβ, d;* cf. Epiphan. lxxx. 3; Euthym. 'Invectivus contra Fundagiatas,' in Foggini, Anecdota Litteraria, iv. 43 (Rom. 1783); Neand. viii. 282.

[s] In ὕπαρ as well as in ὄναρ. Euthym. Panopl. *ρξθ′, c; ρογ′, c.*

[t] Ib. *ρό, d, ροά,*

off as an unclean garment, and is to be annihilated for ever.[u]

In their worship the bogomiles were distinguished by a simplicity which has in later times raised up champions to deny their manifest heterodoxy.[x] They disparaged the sacraments of the church—maintaining that its baptism was but the baptism of John, whom they despised as a teacher of legality; and that the eucharist was a sacrifice of devils, whom they supposed to dwell in all consecrated buildings.[y] They professed to have a true baptism of their own, which they administered to converts, with other rites of gradual initiation into their mysteries.[z] For the Lord's supper they substituted the repetition of the supplication for daily bread; and, while they objected to prayers in churches, their own devotions consisted of repeating the Lord's prayer in stated numbers (as two or fifteen) and at stated times.[a] They denounced images and relics, and paid honour to the memory of the iconoclastic emperors.[b] They disparaged the saints of the church,[c] and, although they admitted the miracles done by the relics of saints, they supposed these to be wrought through the power of evil spirits.[d] They were enemies to all learning, classing "grammarians" with the Jewish scribes. They rejected much of Holy Scripture, and, when pressed with texts from those books which they admitted, they escaped by allegorical explanations of them.[e] They maintained the lawfulness of disguising their tenets, on the ground that

[u] Neand. viii. 286.

[x] Such as Godfrey Arnold, Spanheim, and Beausobre. See Schröckh, xxix. 468; Foggini, iv. 17; Gieseler, II. ii. 680.

[y] A. Comnena, p. 468; Euthym. Panopl. ροβ′, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*; ροδ′, *a*; Thilo, 893-4.

[z] Euthym. Panopl. ροβ′, *b*, *c*; Thilo, 832-6.

[a] Euthym. Panopl. ροβ′, *b*, *c*, *d*; Invectiv. 40-1; Thilo, 832.

[b] Euthym. Panopl. ροα′, *d*; ροβ′, *a*, *b*. See Neander, viii. 283.

[c] Euthym. Panopl. ροβ′, *b*; ρογ′, *b*. Thus they called St. Chrysostom φυρσόστομον, *foul-mouth*. Euthym. Invectiv. 37.

[d] Euth. Panopl. ροβ′, *a*.

[e] Ib. ρξθ′, *c*; ρογ′, *d*.

our Lord enjoined on us an outward conformity to authorities which we disapprove, and that his own parables are instances of disguise.[f] In their appearance and manners they affected a monastic solemnity and austerity;[g] yet with this it need hardly be said that, as in all similar cases, their enemies accuse them of combining not only abominable rites, but gross licentiousness.[h]

This sect had made great progress among the subjects of Alexius,[i] when his attention was called to it by public rumour. On this, he ordered some suspected persons to be seized; and one of these, Diblatius, was brought by torture to avow himself one of twelve apostles sent out by Basil, the chief teacher of the bogomiles.[k] Basil, who is described as a physician,[l] was a man far advanced in life; it was said that he had spent fifteen years in learning his system, and fifty-two in teaching it.[m] The emperor, having caused him to be arrested, affected to treat him with great reverence, admitted him to his own table, and professed a wish to receive instruction from him; and after some hesitation Basil fell into the snare.[n] In a secret chamber of the palace, he was drawn into unfolding his doctrines to Alexius and his brother; and,

[f] Euth. Panopl. ρογ', *α*.

[g] A. Comn. l. xv. p. 486.

[h] Euthym. Panopl. ρογ', *c*; Invect. 28, 38, 40. See Gieseler, II. . 403.

[i] Euthym., Victoria de Massalianis, quoted by Gieseler, II. ii. 685.

[k] A. Comn. l. xv. pp. 486-8. As Anna places the beginning of the affair in the patriarchate of Nicolas, who died in 1111, Mr. Finlay dates it in 1110 (ii. 85). But since, from the way in which Nicolas is again mentioned (492) it appears as if the death of the Bogomile teacher (which Mr. Finlay himself dates in 1118) were under the same patriarch, it would seem that Anna is mistaken in naming him. The interval of eight years is also improbably long, and Gieseler's date, 1116 (II. ii. 679), seems preferable to 1110. Mr. Finlay supposes the Bogomile movement to have been national on the part of the Slaves as against the corrupt, simoniacal, ceremonial church of the Greeks, 82.

[l] Euthym. Panopl. ρξθ', 2. Wolf thinks that he affected this character in order to gain opportunities of spreading his doctrine. 17.

[m] Zonaras, xviii. 23, p. 304 (Patrol. Gr. cxxxv.).

[n] Anna's eulogies on her father's craft are remarkable (488). Euthymius professes to have gained his knowledge of the Bogomile doctrine in a similar way. Invectiv. 36.

when the exposition was complete, the emperor, drawing aside a curtain, showed him a scribe who had noted down his words. The doors of the room were then opened, and the heresiarch found himself confronted with the patriarch, the senators, and the clergy of the city. As it was impossible to deny the truth of the written report, he strongly asserted the truth of his opinions, and declared himself willing to endure innumerable deaths for them.[o] After this scene, all who were suspected of heresy were seized, and were brought before the emperor in a place where two great fires had been made, one of them having a cross beside it. Alexius told them that they were all to be burnt, but desired that those who held the orthodox faith would range themselves under the cross, since it would be better to die in orthodoxy than to live under suspicion of heresy. After this not infallible test, all who had chosen the side of the cross were set free; the others were imprisoned, and were plied from time to time with inducements to recant. Many of them died in prison; but Basil alone, on whom repeated conferences made no impression, was condemned to the flames, and, after having in vain expected an angel to appear for his deliverance,[p] suffered in the hippodrome of Constantinople.[q]

The opinions of the bogomiles did not die out with Basil. In the reign of Manuel similar doctrines were taught by Constantius Chrysomalos, and by a monk named Nephon, whose sway over the patriarch Cosmas was such that for his sake the patriarch submitted to deprivation.[r] Bogomilism was secretly spread by

[o] Μυρίους. A. Comn. 488-9. The princess tells us that after this Basil was stoned during the night by demons, enraged at his betrayal of their secrets. 489.

[p] A. Comn. 489.

[q] Ib. 491-3.

[r] Cinnamus, ii. 10; Neand. viii. 293-4. Nicetas says that the Emperor made the intimacy with Nephon a pretext for removing Cosmas, who had been represented to him as disaffected. De Manuele, ii. 3.

teachers of both sexes;[s] it found adherents among the Greek monks;[t] in Egypt, although it does not appear to have made any progress, it excited so much apprehension that the patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria wrote a treatise against it;[u] and even after the middle of the thirteenth century, the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople found it necessary to compose discourses in refutation of this obstinate heresy.[x]

II. In the West many circumstances concurred to favour the growth of sectarianism. Foremost among these was the corruption of the clergy; and the very efforts of Gregory VII. and others at a reform in the interest of Rome tended, by marking out the defects of the clergy for reprobation, to encourage a spirit of opposition to them.[y] Among other causes which contributed to the same result were the fierce quarrels between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers; the growing pretensions of the hierarchy to authority over the things of this world; the narrowing of the limits of thought allowed within the church; the frequent and scandalous contests of bishops for particular sees; the interdicts and curses which inclined the minds of many to seek from some other quarter the religious ordinances and consolations which the church denied them.[z] Accordingly, we now meet with sectaries in many places, and of various characters.

(1.) The name of Tanchelm has already been incidentally mentioned.[a] This man appeared in Flanders early in the twelfth century, and the chief scene of his

[s] A. Comn. 487.

[t] Cinnamus, ii. 10.

[u] See Neale's Holy Eastern Church, Patriarchate of Alexandria, ii. 240-2. The date seems to have been about 1120.

[x] Schröckh, xxix. 475. For other traces, see Wolf, Hist. Bogom. 39; Gieseler, II. ii. 620, 685-6; Schmidt, Hist. des Cathares, i. 14.

[y] See vol. iv. p. 305.

[z] Reinerius says of the Waldenses, "Tempore interdicti exultant; quia tunc plures corrumpunt." 266.

[a] P. 55.

activity was Antwerp, where the people had been prepared to welcome irregular teaching by the circumstance that their populous town was under the charge of a single priest, whose life is said to have been scandalous. The accounts of Tanchelm, as has been truly remarked,[b] have much in common with those of the anabaptists of the sixteenth century. He affected a royal state, being attended by a bodyguard of 3,000 ruffians, wearing a crown, and having a banner and a sword borne before him when he preached. It is said that he claimed a divine character; that hymns were sung to him, that a church was dedicated in his honour, and that the water in which he had bathed was drunk or treasured up by his followers. He inveighed violently against the priesthood and the sacraments; and it is said that he combined with his lofty pretensions not only the practice but the teaching of the grossest licentiousness. The career of this blasphemous and sanguinary fanatic was cut short by a blow on the head from a priest, about the year 1116; and, although the sect did not immediately come to an end, his followers were reclaimed by Norbert about 1124.[c]

(2.) Another fanatical teacher of this time was Eudo or Eon de Stella, who spread his opinions chiefly in Brittany. Although not sprung from the lowest class of society, he is said to have been almost ignorant of the alphabet, and the accounts of him are incredible unless on the supposition that he was insane. He lived in great splendour, ordained bishops and priests, distinguished his chief followers by the names of apostles and

[b] Milman, iv. 180; Wilmans, in Pertz, xii. 690.

[c] Codex Udalrici, 288; Sigebert. Contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1124; Abælard. Introd. ad Theologiam, ii. 4 (Patrol. clxxviii.); D'Argentré, i. 10; Pagi, xviii. 395; Hahn, i. 439, seqq. Some writers (as C. Schmidt, i. 45) connect Tanchelm with the Catharists and other sects; but against this, see Hahn, i. 462.

of cardinal virtues, and is said to have kept his party together by means of food prepared by the spirits of the air, of which the effect was such that they who had once tasted it became irrevocably attached to the sect.[d] Eon was brought before Eugenius III. at the council of Reims, in 1148, and, on being questioned, avowed his belief that he was He who should come to judge the quick and the dead.[e] At the request of the bishop who had brought him to the council, his life and limbs were spared; and the pope committed him to the care of Samson, archbishop of Reims, in whose custody he soon after died.[f]

(3.) A sectary of a more respectable kind was a priest named Peter of Bruis, whose followers were known by the name of Petrobrusians.[g] After having, for some unknown cause, been deprived of a pastoral cure which he had held,[h] Peter, about the beginning of the century,[i]

[d] Will. Neubrig. i. 19.

[e] It is said that he identified his own name, *Eon* or *Eun*, with "*Eum* qui judicaturus est, etc." So Guibert of Nogent tells us that a heretic at Soissons, on being questioned by Bishop Lisiard, alleged for himself the words of Scripture, "Beati eritis"—"Cum esset enim illiteratus, quod *eritis* significaret *hæreticos* æstimabat. Putabat enim quod hæretici dicerentur quasi hæreditarii, haud dubium quin Dei." (De Vita sua, iii. 17, Patrol. clvi.) M. Henri Martin improbably supposes the story as to Eon to have arisen out of his identifying himself with a Gnostic *Æon*. iii. 458.

[f] Sigeb. Contin. Gemblac. A.D. 1146; Contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1148 (Patrol. clx.); Will. Neubrig, i. 19; Pet. Cantor. Verb. Abbrev. 78 (in two texts), Patrol. ccv. 229, 546 (see Gieseler, II. ii. 534); Gesta Eugenii in Bouq. xv. 425; Otto Frising. de Gestis Friderici, i. 54-5 (who names Suger of St. Denys instead of the archbishop of Reims); Annal. Magdeb. in Pertz, xvi. 190. Gieseler supposes Eon's sect to have been that against which Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, wrote in 1145 (II. ii. 532). But Hugh indicates a difference of opinion among the sectaries whom he combats (l. i. 13, Patrol. cxcii.), and the treatise altogether seems to be rather directed against the Henricians (see below).

[g] Peter was probably a native of Bruis, near Montélimar, in Dauphiny. He is mentioned by Abelard in company with Tanchelm (see p. 297, n. e).

[h] "De ecclesia quam tenebat, scit ipse quare ejectus" (Pet. Clun. 790).

[i] He is said to have taught for twenty years (Pet. Clun. adv. Petrobrusianos, Patrol. clxxxix. 722, 726): whence, as Abelard (l. c.) in 1121 speaks of him as dead, Neander dates his beginning in 1101 (viii. 338). Schröckh (xxix. 515-17), Gieseler (II. ii. 535), and Hahn (i. 410-11) place it in 1104 Baronius (1126. 15) as late as 1126

appeared as an independent teacher in the Alpine dioceses of Embrun, Gap, Digne, and Arles; and, on being driven from that region, he removed into Gascony. There he found a population prepared by the earlier prevalence of sectarian opinions to receive him;[k] he is described as "no longer whispering in hamlets, but openly preaching to multitudes in towns;" and his success, especially in the important city of Toulouse, was such as to astonish those who had been disposed to attribute his earlier successes to the ignorance of the mountaineers whom he had addressed.[l] He vehemently attacked the system of the church in doctrine and in government; his aim was to restore a nakedly scriptural Christianity, without any allowance for change of circumstances, or any consideration for the historical development of ages.[m] Yet it would seem that, while professing to regard scripture as the only source of religious knowledge, he was inclined to discard the Old Testament, and perhaps to retain no part of the New except the Gospels.[n]

The points on which Peter chiefly insisted were five in number: (1) That infants ought not to be baptized, inasmuch as conscious personal faith is necessary in order to receive the benefits of the sacrament.[o] (2) That there ought to be no churches or other places hallowed for worship, forasmuch as the true Church consists of the congregated faithful, and God hears prayer equally wherever it may be offered.[p] (3) That crosses ought not to be reverenced, but, as being the memorials of the Saviour's sufferings, ought to be dishonoured, broken, and burnt.[q] (4) He not only denied the change of the

(which is inconsistent with Abelard's testimony).

[k] Hahn, i. 412. [l] Pet. Clun. 727.

[m] Neand. viii. 338; 'Der heil. Bern.' 429.

[n] Pet. Clun. 728-9. See Neander's Bernard, 431; Hahn, i. 436.

[o] Pet. Clun. 722, 752, seqq.

[p] Ib. 762, seqq.

[q] Ib. 722, 771, seqq., 789. "If,"

eucharistic elements into the Lord's body, but held that the sacrament, having been celebrated by our Lord once for all, ought not to be repeated.[r] (5) He taught that prayers, alms, and masses were unavailing for the dead.[s]

The preaching of these doctrines was attended with great effect. Multitudes who had been baptized in infancy submitted to rebaptism;[t] churches were profaned and destroyed; altars were overthrown, crosses were burnt, priests were beaten by excited mobs, and monks were compelled by torture to marry.[u] Once, on Good Friday, Peter caused all the crosses in the town where he was to be thrown into a bonfire, at which he roasted flesh, and then, in disregard of the solemn fast, invited the spectators to partake of it.[x] But the feeling which usually waited on his preaching was not universal; for, after a career of twenty years, he was seized by the populace of St. Gilles in Provence, and, in vengeance for his outrages against the cross, was himself burnt to death.[y]

Peter of Bruis was still alive, when the "venerable" Peter of Cluny, in passing through his original haunts,

the Petrobrusians used to ask, amid the applause of the multitude, "one were to produce for your adoration the rope with which he had strangled your father, or the sword with which he had pierced your friend or your brother, would you not rise against him with all indignation?" Peter of Cluny replies, that in such a case the indignation ought to be directed against the slayer, not against the innocent and unconscious instrument (773). I have not seen any ground for Neander's inference from Peter of Bruis' violence against the cross, that he denied the redemptive effect of the Saviour's death. viii. 340.

[r] Pet. Clun. 722, 787, seqq.; Hahn, i. 423. Bread and wine, argues the abbot of Cluny, are daily converted into our own bodies; why, then, deny the eucharistic change (803)? If it be said that in our own case the form is changed, look at the change of water into ice, and of ice into crystal, where the form still remains (805). Hahn (i. 431) remarks that here Peter of Cluny says nothing of miracles wrought on the Host, although he dwells much on such things in his book 'De Miraculis.'

[s] Pet. Clun. 722, 819, seqq.; cf. Abælard. Introd. in Theolog. ii. 4.

[t] The sectaries denied that this was rebaptism, the first baptism being altogether null according to them (Pet. Cl. 729). Peter of Cluny blames them for insisting on their own baptism as indispensable, whereas the church, agreeably to Scripture, allowed a dispensation in case of necessity (754).

[u] Ib. 726

[x] Ib. 721-2

[y] Ib. 722.

found his opinions largely prevailing there, and thus was induced to compose a treatise, which is almost our only source of information as to the sect. In this book he defends the whole system of the church, although it need hardly be said that his arguments are often of a questionable kind. The preface, written after the heresiarch's death, is addressed to the four prelates whose dioceses were infected, and in it the abbot expresses a hope that they may find his tract useful in argument, which he declares to be the more Christian manner of dealing with heretics, although he holds that, in case of necessity, the secular power may lawfully be called in to coerce them.[z]

In the meantime, as the abbot of Cluny mentions, the heresiarch had found a successor in one Henry,[a] whom some suppose to have been an Italian, and others to have been a Swiss.[b] Henry was a deacon, and had been a member of the Cluniac order. In his habits he still affected the severity of a monk or a hermit, wearing a long beard, walking barefooted even in the depth of winter, living on alms, and professing to limit himself to such things as were merely necessary.[c] Yet Hildebert and Bernard charge him with licentiousness of life, and especially with a fondness for gaming.[d] His eloquence was said to be such that nothing but a heart of stone could resist it, and it was believed that by his mere look

[z] Præf. col. 721. Peter seems to have anticipated the argument of the 'Horæ Paulinæ,' although we cannot suspect Paley of having borrowed from him: — "Cum ergo tanta evidentia evangelistæ et apostoli verba conveniant, ut quod ille historico hic epistolari stylo gestum referat, et uterque tam concors sibi invicem veritatis testimonium perhibeat, quid ultra quæritis? Nonne sufficientem auctoritatem evangelicus liber apostolicis litteris conferre videtur?" (737.) And he goes on to argue for the unity of Scripture from the manner in which one part bears witness to another.

[a] Pet. Clun. 150.

[b] See Mabillon, Præf. in Bernard. 50 (Patrol. clxxxii.). Neander's account of Henry (viii. 341, seqq.) very remarkably exemplifies the writer's manner of constructing, from scanty and adverse materials, an imaginary portrait of a spiritual hero.

[c] Pet. Clun. 790; Gaufrid. Vita Bern., Patrol. clxxv. 427; l. iii. 16; Gesta Epp. Cenomann. in Mabillon, Analecta, 315-16.

[d] Bern. Ep. 241; Hildeb. Ep. 24.

he could read the secrets of the heart. He also enjoyed the reputation of learning; but his right to this is denied by his opponents, who allow him no other accomplishments than those of preaching and dicing.[e] The first place at which Henry is described as having made himself conspicuous was Lausanne; and, as we soon after find that opinions closely resembling his were entertained by some persons at Treves and at Cologne,[f] it is probable that he may have visited those cities on his way from Switzerland to Le Mans, where he appeared in 1116. Having obtained from the bishop, Hildebert, permission to preach during Lent, he made use of it to excite the people against the clergy, who were insulted, attacked, and plundered, and were only saved from yet worse outrages by the interference of the civil power. He also made strange attempts at moral reform by encouraging marriages with prostitutes and women of servile condition; and it is said that all such unions were unfortunate in their consequences. During these proceedings, Hildebert had been absent on an expedition to Rome; but on his return he was able, although not without much difficulty, to drive out Henry,[g] who afterwards preached at Poitiers and Bordeaux—everywhere, according to St. Bernard, leaving such an impression that he could not venture to revisit the place.[h] In the south of France he met with Peter of Bruis, and after Peter's death[i] he

[e] Gesta Epp. Cenom. in Mabill. Anal. 315-17.

[f] Gesta Trevir. in Patrol. cliv. 1214-16 (about the year 1116). The account of the sectaries at Cologne is thirty years later (Everwin. ap. Bernard. Ep. 472); yet Henry may have been their founder.

[g] Gesta Epp. Cenomann. 316-17; Hildeb. Epp. 23-4; Neand. viii. 347; Hahn, i. 446-7.

[h] Ep. 241

[i] At Le Mans the messengers of Henry appeared before Hildebert with staves tipped with crosses, and at his entrance into the town, a cross was borne before him, so that, during the time of his independent labours, he had not shared in Peter's objections to the cross (Mosh. ii. 502; Neander's Bernard, 446). Neander supposes that he did not join the Petrobrusians until after their master's death (ib. 444). But see Gieseler, II. ii. 535, 538.

became the leader of the sect, to whose errors he is said to have made some additions,[k] although the only further difference from the system of the church that is recorded is a denunciation of the system of chanting.[l]

Peter of Cluny's tract against the Petrobrusians was not without effect. At the council of Pisa, in 1135, Henry was brought by the archbishop of Arles before Innocent II., by whom he was condemned as a heretic, compelled to a retractation, and given over for custody to Bernard, who furnished him with an order that he should be received as a monk of Clairvaux.[m] After a short detention he was set at liberty, on condition that he should not return to his former haunts; but he speedily resumed his labours in the south of France, and with such effect that, as Bernard reports, the churches were soon without people, the people without priests, the priests without due respect; that holy places were reckoned unholy, festivals were neglected, sacraments were scorned, children remained unbaptized, and sinners died without penance or the holy communion.[n] In 1147 Eugenius III., who was then in France, desired Alberic, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, to undertake a mission against Henry, and Bernard, then fresh from his triumphs in preaching the crusade, was persuaded by Alberic to accompany him.[o] Nowhere had the abbot's successes been more signal than on this mission. At Albi, where the people were especially infected with error, the cardinal was received with insult; but when Bernard arrived, five days later, his appearance was hailed with enthusiasm. The cathedral was unable to contain the multitudes which pressed to hear him; and when, after having dis-

[k] Pet. Clun. 722.

[l] Ib. 847; Hahn, i. 434.

[m] Gesta Epp. Cenomann. 323; Gaurid. Vita Bern. (Patrol. clxxxv. 412); see Pagi, xviii. 497.

[n] Ep. 241, init.; cf. Gesta Epp. Cenom. 323.

[o] Gaufrid. Vita Bern. iii. 17. See Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 443-7.

coursed on the chief points of difference, he desired that all who preferred the catholic faith to heresy would hold up their hands, every hand in the assembly was raised.[p] Miracles were performed in such abundance that the heretics slunk off in dismay, and wherever Bernard appeared, so great was the excitement, that he was even afraid to encounter the crowds of his admirers.[q] On one occasion, when bread was carried to him for his blessing (as was usual), he declared that, for the decision of the question between the church and the heretics, every sick person who should taste of that bread would be made whole. "If they receive with right faith they will be healed," interposed Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, who feared that the abbot had been carried too far by his enthusiasm. "That is not what I say," cried Bernard, "but of a truth those who taste shall be healed, that they may know us to be the true and faithful messengers of God!" The miracle is said to have followed,[r] and the effect of it was decisive. Henry, driven from the city, had found a refuge among the nobles of the neighbourhood, who, although indifferent to his doctrines, were favourable to him as an enemy of the clergy.[s] But at Bernard's instance he was given up in chains to the bishop of Toulouse.[t] His further history appears to be unknown,

[p] Gaufr. coll. 414-15.

[q] Ib. 411-13.

[r] Id. iii. 18. William of Puylaurens has a story that at a place called Verfeuil (Viride-folium) the people would not listen to Bernard; whereupon he exclaimed, "Viride folium, desiccet te Deus!" and the curse was fulfilled in its speedy decay. c. i.; Bouq. xix. 194.

[s] Gaufr. col. 412.

[t] Ib. 313, 412. Cf. Bern. Ep. 242. According to some writers, who have been misled by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (Bouq. xiii. 701), Henry was condemned by Eugenius at Reims, in 1148, to be kept in custody by Samson, archbishop of that city. But this story has arisen out of a confusion between Henry and Eon. (See Gieseler, II. ii. 539, in refutation of Neander, viii. 350.) Allix refers to Baronius, A.D. 1147, for the statement that Henry was burnt at Toulouse "at the solicitation of St. Bernard, by the cruelty of Albericus." (On the Albigenses, p. 147, ed. Oxford, 1824.) But I have not been able to find this in Baronius, or anywhere else, although Baronius would no doubt have warmly approved of such proceedings.

and the sect, as a distinct body, seems to have become speedily extinct, partly through the effect produced by a young girl of Gascony, who, about the year 1151, used to lie insensible three days in each month, and, on awaking, to testify eloquently and learnedly against the errors of the Henricians.[u]

(4.) The heretical opinions most widely spread during this time were those of a Manichæan character,[x] which are found from England to the south of Italy, from the Hellespont to the Ebro.[y] Appearances of this kind

[u] R. de Monte, A.D. 1151; R. de Diceto, 527.

[x] The relationship to Manichæism, however, is denied, notwithstanding the many points of resemblance—as by C. Schmidt, in Herzog, vii. 469.

[y] Among the writers cited in the account of the cathari and Waldenses, the following may be here enumerated:—

Alanus, 'Contra Hæreticos sui Temporis' (Patrol. ccx.). That this is the work of the famous Alan of Lille (de Insulis), has been denied, on the ground that the author seems to have been connected with the south of France (C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cath. ii. 234). Yet Gieseler thinks it possible that Alan of Lille, as a monk of Cîteaux, which had much intercourse with the South, may have been the writer. II. ii. 258.

Bernard, abbot of Fontcaud, 'Adversus Waldenses,' Patrol. cciv.

Bonacursus, 'Contra Catharos,' ibid.

Disputatio Catholici contra Hæreticos, in Martene, Thes. v.

Eberhard of Bethune, in Bibl. Patr. xxiv. The treatise is wrongly said to be against the Waldenses, being really against the cathari. See Maitland, 'Facts and Documents,' 98, 100, etc.; Giesel. II. ii. 555.

Eckbert, abbot of Schönau, 'Sermones contra Catharos,' Patrol. cxcv.

Ermengaud, 'Adversus Hæreses,' ib. cciv.; and also in the Appendix to Abelard, ib. clxxviii. (See Giesel. II. ii. 557.)

Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ (A.D. 1307-1323), printed with Limborch's History of the Inquisition. See Maitland, 260, and his extracts of remarkable cases, 270, seqq.

Lucas Tudensis [*i.e.* bishop of Tuy, in Galicia], 'Adv. Albigensium Errores,' in Bibl Patr. xxv.

Moneta Cremonensis, 'Adversus Catharos et Valdenses,' ed. Ricchini, Rom. 1743. [A copy of this, lettered 'Moneta Cremonensis—Ricchini,' was lately to be seen in the Cambridge University library, catalogued as the work of the editor, and classed among numismatic books!]

Peter of Pilichdorf, in Bibl. Patr. xxv.

Peter of Vaux Cernay, 'Historia Albigensium,' Patrol. ccxiii.

Reinerius Sacchoni, 'Summa de Catharis et Leonistis,' in Martene, Thes. Anecd. V. 1762, seqq., and in D'Argentré, i. 48, seqq. This work was afterwards interpolated by way of fitting it for use in various countries, and thus was formed the book, 'Contra Waldenses,' in Bibl. Patr. xxv.,—a South-German adaptation. See Quétif, i. 154; Maitland, 'Facts and Doc.' 431-7, 538; Letter to Rose, 1834, p. 41; Reply to J. King, 1836, pp. 29-30; Giesel. II.

have already come before us in the early part of the eleventh century.[z] But whereas those appearances, however similar to each other, seem to have been isolated, we now find in the heretics a knowledge of their own numbers and of the wide extent of their communion, with a formidable system of organization. The connexion with the East becomes more distinct, and the oriental tone of their doctrine is too plain to be mistaken.[a]

Of the names by which these sectaries were known, the commonest was that of *Cathari* (in Italian, *Gazzari*, and in German, *Ketzer*), as to which, although other derivations have been proposed for it, there appears to be no reason for doubting that it is of Greek origin, and relates to their profession of purity.[b] Among their other names were—*Publicani* or *Poplicani*, which seems to point to a connexion with the Paulicians;[c] *Patarini*, a

ii. 613; C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cath. ii. 227, and in Herzog, Encycl. art. *Ranerio Sacchoni.*

Stephen de Borbone. Of this writer only extracts have as yet been printed by D'Argentré, i. 85, seqq., and elsewhere.

Yvonet. This has been supposed to be the name of the author of the 'Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno,' in Martene, Thes. v. 1777, seqq. (Gieseler, II. ii. 613.) But it is now said to be the work of David of Augsburg, a Franciscan who lived early in the 13th century. See Herzog, art. *Yvonetus.*

Eymeric, a Dominican of Catalonia (A.D. 1320-1399), 'Directorium Inquisitorum,' Venice, 1707.

[z] Vol. iv. pp. 117, seqq. Map supposes the heretics to have existed in obscurity even from the time of the Saviour's passion! De Nugis Curialium, 61.

[a] Neand. viii. 296; C. Schmidt, i. 54-5. In 1224, 184 heretics were burnt at Provins, "qui, ut ipsi confessi fuerant, ex eorum progenie erant quos imperator Theodosius temporibus Augustini de Africa expulerat, qui etiam de secta Manichæorum fuisse creduntur." Annal. Erphord. in Pertz, xvi. 33. See above, vol. iii. p. 66.

[b] See Ricchini, Dissert. in Monet. xii.; Gieseler, II. ii. 539; C. Schmidt, ii. 271, 276-8; Append. vi. Alan gives various etymologies, *e.g.*, "A *catto*, quia, ut dicitur, osculantur posteriora catti, in cujus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer." (Contra Hæreticos, i. 63, Patrol. ccx.) Gretser also derives the name from the German *Kater*, but would explain it by the stealthy and cat-like habits of the sectaries (Bibl. Patr. xxv. 253). Mosheim's idea (Ch. Hist. ii. 392; Ketzergesch. i. 367) that it points to a connection with the country of the Chazars, is unsupported by historical evidence. Schröckh, xxiii. 351-2; Gieseler, l. c.

[c] Hahn derives this name from *populus* (i. 51). A passage in the 'History

name which, from having belonged to the opponents of clerical marriage at Milan in the preceding century, was now transferred to parties which disparaged all marriage, or perhaps had come to be used, in forgetfulness of its origin, as a convenient designation for sectaries;[d] *Apostolici*, from their pretension to an apostolical manner of life;[e] *Bonshommes*, a name which was affected by themselves and bestowed on them by those who favoured them;[f] *Bulgari* or *Bougres*, which connects them with Bulgaria, but came to bear a meaning of the most odious kind.[g] In Flanders they were styled *Piphles*, as belonging to the "people" or poorer classes;[h] in the south of France, *Tisserands*, because many of them were weavers;[i]

of Vezelay' seems to hint at a derivation, by styling them "Telonarii seu Poplicani" (Patrol. cxciv. 1681)—τελώνης meaning a *publican*. But *Telonarii* is a conjecture of Baluze for *Deonarii*, and seems to be mistaken, since we find Herbert of Bosham writing to the abbot of Vezelay about some heretics who had been found there, and were called "Dageneis seu Deonas" (Ep. 29, Patrol. cxc. 1462. Perhaps these names may be connected with Dugunthia or Dugunithia (see below, p. 311, n. [x]). The derivation given in the text seems to be the most likely, especially when the Greek pronunciation of the *υ* in Παυλικιανοί (like *υ*) is considered See Maitland, 'Eight Essays,' 171-2 (Lond. 1852); Neand. viii. 296.

[d] See vol. iv. pp. 251-2; Ricchini, in Monet. 18; Giesel. II. ii. 540. As applied to the cathari, this name has been derived from *pati*, either on account of their exposure to suffering, or from their alleged indulgence of their passions (Mapes, de Nugis Curialium, 62). "Patarenos *se* nominant, quasi expositos passioni," says the emperor Frederick II., in Pertz, Leges, ii. 327. The Anchin chronicler (Patrol. clx. 320) says, "Isti hæretici nullius hæresiarchæ muniuntur præsidio; quidam dicunt Manichæos, alii Cataphrygas, nonnulli vero Arrianos, Alexander autem papa vocat eos *Paternios*" (Paterinos). Dr. Maitland observes that the earliest form of the word, as applied to these sectaries (*e.g.*, by Reiner and by the council of Lateran in 1179), is *Patrini*, and supposes that they may have been called *godfathers* by the converts, whom they rebaptized (447). Allix utterly misrepresents the Milanese patarini as having been the *enemies* of celibacy (133).

[e] Neander's Bernard, 412.

[f] Hoveden, 317, *b*; Hahn, i. 55; Pet. Sarn. 4. Another name is *Abnoitæ* (Reiner. Leod. in Pertz, xvi. 663), possibly a corruption of *Agnoëtæ* (see vol. ii. p. 286).

[g] Ricchini, xvii.; Gibbon, v. 284.

[h] Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, c. i. "De Piphilis;" Eckbert. Serm. i. adv. Catharos, Patrol. cxcv. 13; Hahn, i. 51.

[i] Conc. Rem. l. c.; Eckbert, l. c. This class was much given to sectarianism. It is said that Bernard, on his mission against the Henricians, found at Toulouse "de textoribus quos *Arianos* ipsi nominant, nonnullos" (Gaufrid. in Patrol. clxxv. 411). That the cathari were sometimes called

some of them were called after the names of leaders, as the *Arnoldists*, who were probably connected with an "arch-catharist" of Cologne named Arnold;[k] while other names were derived from places—such as that of *Agenenses*,[l] and, at a later time, the more celebrated name of *Albigenses*.[m]

Sectaries who may be identified with the cathari appear during this time in many quarters — at Cologne[n] and Bonn,[o] at Reims[p] and Toul,[q] at Liege,[r] Ar-

Arians, see Chron. Aquicinct. quoted above, n. [d]; Hoveden, 327; and Bernard himself says, "Clerici et sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barbati inter textores et textrices plerumque inventi sunt." In Cantica, Serm. lxv. 5.

[k] Eckbert. Serm. viii. 3; Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 19. See Maitland, 'Facts and Documents,' 447, and C. Schmidt, art. *Arnoldisten*, in Herzog. The Arnoldists mentioned by Bonacorsi (791), do not seem to have been Manichæans, and may have been followers of Arnold of Brescia.

[l] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1178. Radulphus Ardens, in 1101, mentions the prevalence of Manichæan error about Agen, and gives the chief heads of the errors. (Hom. in Epp. et Evang. Dominic. 19, Patrol. clv. 2011.) Reiner says that in his time the heretical church of Agen was almost extinct. Mart. Thes. v. 1768.

[m] Roger Wendover supposes this name to have been taken from the city of Albi, as having been the first place where these heretics were condemned (ii. 267). But it was really derived from the district of the Albigeois, and was first applied by foreign soldiers, in the campaign of 1208, to those who until then had been styled simply "heretics" (Pet. Sarn. Prolog. s. fin.; Hist. Langued. iii. 4, 533-5; Schröckh, xxix. 569-72; notes on Mosh. ii. 392, 610; Maitland, 'Facts and Doc.' 95-6; Gieseł. II. ii. 584; Hahn, i. 153). Odo de Sully, bishop of Paris in 1196, orders his clergy to warn their people "ut in Albigenses hæreticos se accingant" (Præcepta Synodalia, 43, Patrol. ccxii. 67). Dr. Maitland supposes this language to be of a later date (184); but the difficulty will disappear if we understand the words to mean *the heretics of the Albigeois*, not *the heretics styled Albigenses;* and the same explanation will apply to the words of Godfrey of Vigeois (Vosiensis). who uses the name with reference to the year 1181. Hist. Lang. iii. 57.

[n] Annal. Braunweiler. A.D. 1143 (Pertz, xvi.); Everwin, in Patrol. clxxxii. 676; Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 19, 24; Annal. Aquens. A.D. 1163 (Pertz, xvi.); Eckbert. in Patrol. cxcv. 13; Annal. Colon. A.D. 1163 (Pertz, xvii.).

[o] Eckbert. Serm. viii. 3.

[p] Chron. Burburgen. A.D. 1136 (Patrol. clx.); Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, c. 1 in Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 74; Eckbert. in Patrol. cxciv., Serm. i. 2; v. 11; viii. 3; xi. 1-8. Ralph of Coggeshalle tells a story of an old woman at Reims, who threw a ball of thread from a window, holding the end of the thread, and crying "Accipe!" whereupon she was raised into the air and vanished, while her less instructed disciple remained below and was burnt. Bouq. xviii. 92.

[q] Hugo Metellus, cited from MS. by Mabillon, Analecta, 475; Hahn, i. 453.

[r] Annal. Rodenses, A.D. 1139 (Pertz,

ras,[s] and other places in Flanders;[t] at Soissons,[u] at Auxerre (where a bishop named Hugh was styled the "hammer of the heretics"[x]), and at Vezelay;[y] at Besançon,[z] and perhaps at Perigueux (although the Manichæism of the sectaries there is somewhat doubtful).[a] An English writer of the time describes them as numerous in Anjou, but as swarming in Burgundy and Aquitaine.[b] Spain was also infested by them;[c] and in England itself a party of about thirty "Publicans"[d] was discovered at Oxford about 1160. They were all Germans except a female English convert, who afterwards recanted; and all are described as utterly illiterate, with the exception of their leader, one Gerard. These sectaries were examined by a council held at Oxford, in the presence of Henry II., who was especially desirous at that time to give the exiled primate's party no pretext for representing him as favourable to heresy. By the king's command they were branded in the face, severely flogged, and

xvi.), Ep. 4, ad Lucium i. II. (Patrol. clxxix.), where the heresy is said to have come "a Monte Guimari, quo nomine quidam vicus in Francia dicitur," which is supposed by Martene to be Montélimar, but may rather be identified with Mont-Vimer, near Vertus, in Champagne, which was the centre of Catharism in that region. See Martin, iv. 160-1.

[s] Eugen. III., Ep. 560 (A.D. 1153); Chron. Aquicinct. A.D. 1182-3 (Patrol. clx.); C. Schmidt, i. 92-3.

[t] Ludov. VII. ad Alex. III., Patrol. cc. 1376; Alex. Ep. 182; Will. de Nangis, A.D. 1183; Rigord. in Bouq. xviii. 11.

[u] Guibert. Novig. de Vita sua, iii. 17 (Patrol. clvi.).

[x] "Hæreticorum malleus." Hist. Epp. Antissiod. in Bouq. xviii. 726; Innoc. III. Ep. v. 36.

[y] A.D. 1167, Hist. Vizeliac. l. 4, fin. (Patrol. cxciv.); Herb. Bosham. Ep. 29 (ib. cxc.).

[z] Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 18. Gieseler dates this in 1200 (II. ii. 542); but C. Schmidt's date is about 1163. (i. 89-90.)

[a] For the Perigueux sectaries the authority is a letter of a monk named Herbert, in Patrol. clxxxi. 172. Their Manichæism is denied by Neander (viii. 36), and Mabillon supposes them followers of Henry and Peter of Bruis (Præf. in Bern., Patrol. clxxxii. 51). On the other side are Gieseler (II. ii. 541) and Hahn (i. 453). It is suspicious that, according to some copies of Ademar (Patrol. cxli. 71), the Manichæism which appeared at Orleans in 1122 (see vol. i. 118) was brought from Perigueux; and, if nothing distinctly Manichæan appears in Herbert's account of the later sectaries at Perigueux, it is possible that he may not have got to the bottom of their doctrines.

[b] W. Mapes, de Nugis Curialium, 62. [c] W. Neubrig. ii. 13.

[d] Map says sixteen. 62.

driven out of the town ;[e] after which, according to some writers, they perished in the fields by cold and hunger, as the people would hold no communication with them,[f] while other authorities tell us that they were sent across the sea.[g]

In the treatment of such persons in general, the king of England is honourably distinguished from most of his contemporaries; for we are told that "while the Publicans were burnt in many places throughout France, king Henry would by no means allow this in his dominions, although there were many of them there ;" and it would seem that even warnings and calamities, which were represented as miraculous, were unable to change his policy in this respect.[h] In most places where heretics were found, they were committed to the flames under the authority of bishops and princes, or by the violence of the multitude, and it is generally related that they bore their fate with a courage, and even with an appearance of exultation, which were traced to demoniacal influence. Yet there were eminent teachers who took a truer view of the manner in which error should be dealt with, and among these Bernard was conspicuous. In 1146 he received from Everwin, provost of Steinfeld,

[e] R. Coggesh. in Bouq. xvii. 92. From William of Newburgh it would seem as if the date were 1160; but R. de Diceto is probably right (Twysd. 539) in placing it in 1166. See Wilkins, i. 438; Stubbs, Introd. to Hoveden, ii. p. liv.

[f] W. Neubrig. ii. 13 (who says that this was the first heresy that had appeared in Britain since the Pelagianism of early times, and highly approves of the treatment of the heretics); Bromton, 1050.

[g] R. de Diceto, 539; Mapes, 62; Hemingburgh, i. 88-9. See Lingard, ii. 227; C. Schmidt, i. 97-8. In the 'Livere des Reis de Brittaine' (Chron. and Mem.) it is said that each of them "perdi le un pee" [*i.e.* pied], 218. There is a letter of later date from Peter of Blois to Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York, exciting him against heretics in his province; but there is nothing distinctive in the description of them. Ep. 113.

[h] R. Hoved. 352, *b*. Prof. Stubbs supposes Henry's continental dominions to be meant (Introd. to Hoved. ii. p. liv.). Hoveden tells a story of a mysterious warning conveyed through a servant of abbot Eustace of Flai, and of the deaths of two of the king's sons which followed.

an account of some sectaries at Cologne, who were divided into two parties — the one unquestionably Manichæan, while the other seems to have been nearly akin to the Petrobrusians and Henricians.[i] It was through the dissensions of these parties among themselves that they had been discovered; some of them, after a discussion with the clergy, had been hurried away and burnt by the mob; and Everwin expresses his regret for this violence, and asks Bernard to furnish him with arguments and authorities against the errors which he reports to him.[k] In consequence of this application, Bernard composed two sermons on the text, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines."[l] In these sermons he argues zealously against the sectaries, and strongly denounces their peculiarities. But as to the right manner of dealing with them, his opinion is decidedly against persecution and bloodshed. "They are to be taken," he says, "not with arms but with arguments; and, if possible, they are to be reconciled to the Catholic church, and recalled to the true faith. And that this is the will of Him who 'will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth,' appears from its being said, not simply, 'Take the foxes,' but 'Take *us* the foxes.' He commands that they be gained for Himself and for his spouse, the church." The utmost that Bernard would sanction is that obstinate heretics should be driven away or imprisoned, rather than that they should destroy the spiritual vines.[m] In like manner, St. Hildegard, while

[i] See Gieseler, II. ii. 545; Neander's Bernard, 419, 420; cf. Eckbert. Serm. v. II. Mabillon supposes some of the Cologne sectaries to have been followers of Tanchelm, Præf. in Bern. 51.

[k] Ap. Bern. Ep. 472.

[l] Cantic. ii. 15; Bern. Serm. in Cantica, 65-6. The comparison of sectaries to Samson's foxes was not left for the author of 'Foxes and Firebrands' in the 17th century, but is often found—*e.g.*, in Reinerius, c. 4, Humbert. de Romanis, de Erudit. Prædicatorum, i. 31 (Bibl. Patr. xxv.).

[m] Serm. lxiv. 8 in Cantica.

she everywhere expresses a strong detestation of heretics,[n] and exhorts the secular authorities to drive them away by confiscation and banishment, adds that they ought not to be slain, "forasmuch as they are God's image."[o] And Peter the Chanter of Paris, in the end of the century, condemns both capital punishment of heretics and the use of ordeals for their trial.[p]

In Italy the cathari were to be found even as far south as Calabria.[q] But they were especially numerous in Lombardy, where the heretics of Monteforte had appeared at an earlier time,[r] and from the days of Ariald and Herlembald there had been a strong feeling against the clergy; and there they are described as abounding in cities and in suburbs, in villages and in castles, and as teaching publicly without fear or hindrance.[s] The sectaries of Lombardy were divided into parties[t]—those of Concorrezzo and of Albano mutually excommunicating each other; but with this exception it is said that their congregations were everywhere in communion.[u] Of these "churches" sixteen are enumerated—in Italy and France, in Slavonia, at Constantinople (where there were one of Latins and one of Greeks), and elsewhere in the east; and it is said that all the rest were derived from those of Bulgaria and Dugunthia.[x] The writer who gives this information reckons the whole number of the sect, including both

[n] *E.g.*, Ep. 48, coll. 250-3 (Patrol. cxcvii.).

[o] Ep. 47, coll. 232-3.

[p] Verbum Abbrev. c. 78 (Patrol. ccv. 229-30). Alan quotes as from St. Augustine (?) an interpretation of David's concubines (II Sam. xvi. 22; xx. 3) as meaning heretics, and infers that these are to be reduced to the church by imprisonment, words, and blows, but are not to be slain. Contra Hæreticos, ii. 20 (Patrol. ccx.).

[q] Reiner. Summa, in Martene, Thesaur. v. 1761; C. Schmidt, i. 62-4.

[r] See vol. iv. p. 123

[s] Bonacurs., in Dachery, i. 209 (or Patrol. cciv.); Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 24.

[t] See Reiner. Summa, 1768; C. Schmidt, ii. 52-6.

[u] Reiner. Summa, 1773-4. See Hefele, v. 734; Lib. Sentent. 13-14.

[x] Rein. Summa, 1767; see C. Schmidt, ii. 266. Dugunthia, elsewhere styled *Druguria*, is identified by Gieseler with *Tragurium*—Trau, in Dalmatia, II. ii. 552. See above, p. 306, n.[e].

sexes, at less than four thousand; but it would seem that this estimate was meant to exclude all but the "perfect" or highest grade of them.[y]

But the chief stronghold of these sectaries was in the south of France, where circumstances were very favourable to the spreading of their opinions. The population of this territory were widely different from the northern French, to whom their dialect, the *langue d'oc*, was even unintelligible. Toulouse, the capital, was the ancient seat of the Arian Gothic monarchy, and heresy is said to have always lingered in the region.[z] The nobles were remarkable for their gay and luxurious manner of life, and among them was cultivated a vernacular poetry of love and chivalry, strongly tinged with licentiousness, and unsparing in its satire against the clergy, who had fallen into tastes and habits too strongly resembling their own.[a] The citizens had been enriched by commerce, and had achieved for themselves a degree of political freedom which was elsewhere unknown.[b] The tone of thought and feeling was independent; Peter of Bruis and Henry had found an eager reception among the people, and had paved the way for other teaching hostile to the church.[c] To the more serious, the heresy was commended by its professions of austerity; to those of opposite character, by its enmity to the clergy, and by the indulgence which it allowed to such of its converts

[y] Rein. Summa, 1768. In Gretser's text, after the number 4000, follows "sed credentes [*i.e.* the lower grade] innumeri." Giesel. II. ii. 629.

[z] P. Sarn. 1; C. Schmidt, i. 24-6; Hahn, i. 47, 150. See Bouquet, xii. 449, and a letter in vol. xiv., 'De profugandis Tolosanis hæreticis.'

[a] Hurter, ii. 272-3; Sismondi, Hist. Fr. vi. 250-5; Litt. du Midi de l'Europe, 192, 207; Neander, viii. 351; Martin, vi. 16-17; C. Schmidt, i. 67; Hallam, M.A. ii. 194.

[b] Hist. de Langued. ii. 515; C. Schmidt, i. 67-9.

[c] Hahn, i. 152; Fauriel, Introd. to the poem of the 'Croisade contre les Albigeois,' lv.-lx. The author of this poem (who will be often cited in a future chapter) treats the struggle of the southern against the northern French as one of civilization against barbarism. Cf. Sism. vi. 249-50.

as had not yet taken on themselves the obligations of its highest grade.[d] We have already seen that in the beginning of the eleventh century some Manichæans were discovered and put to death at Toulouse.[e] The renewed progress of heresy in the same region had been noticed and denounced as early as the year 1119, when Calixtus II. held a council at that city;[f] and the denunciation had been repeated by the Lateran council of 1139, by the council of Reims in 1148, and by that of Tours in 1163—all held under the presidency of popes.[g] In 1165 a conference took place between some bishops and some of the "good men" (as they styled themselves) at Lombers, a little town near Albi;[h] where the sectaries behaved with all the consciousness of strength, defied the sentence which was passed against their opinions, and were allowed to depart without any attempt to extend it to their persons.[i] Some years later, we read of a council held by the heretics themselves at St. Felix de Caraman, near Toulouse, under the presidency of a personage styled "Pope Niquinta,"—a name which has been identified with that of one Nicetas, who is said by a writer of the time to have come from Constantinople into Lombardy.[k] A vast multitude of both sexes flocked to receive from this chief the mystical rite which was styled *consolamentum*. Representatives of several catharist churches appeared; bishops were chosen and

A.D. 1167.

[d] C. Schmidt, l. c.

[e] Vol. iv. p. 123.

[f] Conc. Tolos. c. 3, Hard. vi. 1978; Maitland, 90.

[g] Conc. Lat. c. 23; Conc. Rem. c. 18; Conc. Turon. c. 4. See Pagi, xix. 203.

[h] Bossuet, Pagi, and others, have confounded this with Lombez, afterwards an episcopal see. Hist. de Langued. iii. 537.

[i] Hard. vi. 1643-52; Hoveden, 317-20; C. Schmidt, i. 71-3; Maitland, 139. Hoveden, by giving this under the year 1176, has misled some writers. See Hist. de Langued. iii. 535-7; Gieseler, II. ii. 552; Hefele, v. 571; Stubbs, Introd. to Hoved. ii. p. xx. and notes, pp. 106-7.

[k] See Gieseler, II. ii. 551; C. Schmidt, i. 73.

ordained for these communities; and, with a view to the preservation of harmony among the sectaries, Niquinta told them that all churches were, like the seven churches of Asia, originally independent of each other; that such was still the case with their brethren of Bulgaria, Dalmatia, and the east; and he charged them to do in like manner.[l]

In 1177 Raymond V., count of Toulouse, addressed a letter to the abbot of Cîteaux and his chapter, requesting the assistance of the order against the heretics by whom his dominions were infested.[m] About the same time the kings of France and England—probably at the count's instance[n]—concerted measures for the suppression of the heresy; and at their request Peter, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, Guarin, archbishop of Bourges, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Poitiers, and others undertook a mission into the affected country.[o] These commissioners describe the heresy as triumphant, not only among the people but among the clergy. On entering Toulouse they were hooted, and were reviled as hypocrites and heretics.[p] They disputed with two leaders of the cathari, who disavowed the chief errors which were laid to their charge, and denied that they had ever taught so. But count Raymond and others deposed that they had often heard them vent those doctrines, and, as they refused to abjure, on the ground that oaths were unlawful, they were solemnly excommunicated.[q] The chief supporter of the heresy at Toulouse, an old man of great wealth and powerful connexions, named Peter Moran, who is said to have been styled John the

[l] Bouq. xiv. 448-9.
[m] Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1441.
[n] Hist. de Langued. iii. 47.
[o] R. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 527; R. Hoveden, 327, Hist. Langued. iii. 47, 541-2. The letters of Peter and Henry are given by Hoveden; also in Patrol. cxci. 1121, cciv. 235.
[p] Henr. l. c.
[q] Pet. S. Chrysog. l. c.

Evangelist, abjured his errors, and was punished by being repeatedly flogged, amerced in all his property, and sent on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[r] Roger, viscount of Beziers, on being summoned to expel the heretics, and to procure the release of the bishop of Albi, who was in their hands, withdrew into an inaccessible part of his territories. He was therefore denounced excommunicate in the name of the pope, and was defied in feudal form on the part of the two kings.[s] Many of the sectaries were brought to an abjuration; but this was in some cases only evasive and insincere,[t] and the mission is described by a contemporary as having had little success.[u]

In 1179 the council of Lateran passed a canon against the "Cathari, Patrini, or Publicani," denouncing all who should favour them, and promising the indulgences and privileges of crusaders to those who should take arms against them.[x] In 1181 Henry of Clairvaux, who at the council had been created cardinal-bishop of Albano,[y] again proceeded into the south of France, as papal legate. His preaching was seconded, not only by miracles in refutation of the heretical opinions as to the eucharist,[z] but by an army which caused much devastation and bloodshed. Roger of Beziers was compelled to profess that he would show no favour to heretics, and after his death, in 1194, an oath to the same effect was taken by the guardians of

[r] Henr. l. c.; Ben. Petrib. 255.

[s] Pet. S. Chrys. l. c.; Henr. l. c.

[t] Ben. Petrib. 256-7.

[u] Rob. de Monte (Patrol. clx. 527).

[x] Can. 27 Other canons were passed at Narbonne in the same year (Giesel. II. ii. 555), and at Montpellier in 1197 (Hard. vi. 1933-6). See too Cœlest. III., Ep. 27 (Patrol. ccvi.). With the cathari the council of Lateran classes those who were known as Brabançons, Cotarelli, etc. These, however, were merely gangs of ruffians —generally mercenary soldiers out of employment—who had nothing in common with heretics except enmity to the clergy (Hahn, i. 58, 90). See too Mapes de Nugis Curialium, p. 60 and note.

[y] Ben. Petrib. 515.

[z] Guil. de Nangis, A.D. 1181; Hist. de Langued. iii. 56.

his son, Raymond Roger.[a] Lucius III., in conjunction with the emperor Frederick, sent forth from Verona in 1184 a decree against all heretics, and prescribed measures for the suppression of their errors.[b] But we shall see hereafter that, notwithstanding all the measures both of persuasion and of force which had been employed, the heresy continued to retain its hold on the population of Languedoc.[c]

The leading principle of these sectaries was dualism; but, while some held this in the full Manichæan sense of supposing two gods, independent of and opposed to each other, others held a modified opinion, nearly resembling that of the bogomiles—that the creator of evil was himself created by the good god, and had fallen from his first estate by rebellion.[d] The creation of the elements was by some ascribed to the good god, and by others to the bad; but all agreed in referring the division of the elements, and the formation of the world from out of them, to the bad god;[e] and from the imperfection of the world—from the fire which burns and the water which drowns—it was argued that it could not be the work of Him who is all-perfect.[f] The Son of God was said to be the highest angel, and was held to be inferior to the Father, as the Holy Ghost to the Son.[g]

[a] Gieseler, II. ii. 555; C. Schmidt, i. 82-3.

[b] Ep. 171 (Patrol. cci.).

[c] See the next book, c. i. sect. 8. Robert of Auxerre says that after cardinal Henry's mission the heretics "returned to their vomit" when he had left the country. Bouq. xviii. 250.

[d] Moneta, i. 1, pp. 3, 5, 7; Reiner. Summa, 1761, 1768, 1773; Pet. Sarn. 2; Disputatio Catholici contra Hæreticos, 1705-7; Ermengaud, 1-2; Eckbert, 1-4; Lucas Tudens. iii. 5; Bonacurs. Præfat.; Eberh. de Bethun. c. 5; Neand. viii. 297, 305; Hahn, i. 62; C. Schmidt, ii. 12-24. Some, according to Peter of Vaux-Cernay (c. 2), said that the good god had two wives, Colla and Colliba (Ezek. xxiii. 1?); but Gieseler (II. ii. 559) and Schmidt (ii. 13) think this a mistake for the *bad* god.

[e] Moneta, II. i. 11. For curious evasions of the cathari as to this, see l. II. xi.

[f] Pet. Sarn. 2; Moneta. II. iii. 1; Bonacurs. Præfat.; Schmidt, ii. 9-10.

[g] Monet. I. i. p. 2; III. iii. 1, 14; III. v., Præf. in Bonacurs.; Reiner. Summa, 1768, Neand. viii. 301; Ch. Schmidt, ii. 34.

It was said that Adam and Eve were formed by the devil, and had souls of light imprisoned within their fleshly bodies;[h] that the forbidden fruit was carnal intercourse; and that Cain was begotten by the devil.[i] The god of the Old Testament was declared to be cruel, false, and changeable.[k] The angel who foretold the birth of St. John the Baptist was said to have been sent by the devil, as was also John himself; the baptism of John was of the devil, and whatever was well spoken by him as to Christ, was spoken without his will or understanding.[l] The reality of the Saviour's incarnation was denied[m] by the sectaries in general; by some the blessed Virgin was supposed to be an angel, while some regarded her as an allegorical representative of the church, and others supposed her to have been born of a woman alone, without any human father.[n] The bodily form of the Saviour, his actions and sufferings, were explained on the docetic principle;[o] the gospel miracles were said to have been wrought in no other than a spiritual sense—such as feeding spiritual hunger, healing the diseases of the soul, or raising from the death of sin; and in this sense the sectaries claimed for themselves a continuance of miraculous power, by virtue of the Saviour's promise.[p]

[h] But Moneta says that they supposed Adam and Eve to have been God's creatures, but seduced by the devil. 3-4.

[i] Bonac. Præf. 208; Mon. II. i. 2; vi. 1, pp. 144-5; Disput. 1711, 1719-20; Will. de Nangis, A.D. 1183; Eckbert, v. 6; xiii.; Schmidt, ii. 28-9. Bonacursus represents them as saying that from the blood of *Cain* were born dogs (*canes*), and that this is the reason of their faithfulness to man. 208.

[k] Monet. II. vi. 2-4.

[l] Ib. III. i. 1; IV. i. 2.

[m] The text, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" was cited as proving that He took nothing of Mary (Monet. I. i. p. 8). But the Bulgarian catharists differed from the rest in admitting the incarnation, while they supposed the Saviour to have laid aside his flesh at his ascension. III. iii. 5, 15.

[n] See Reiner. Summa, 1773; Monet. I. i. p. 5; III. ii. 1; iii. 7, pp. 232, 243; C. Schmidt, ii. 40.

[o] Pet. Sarn. 2; Ermeng. 7; Præf. in Bonacurs.; Disput. c. 5; Reiner. Summa, 1769; Eckbert, i. 2, xii.; C. Schmidt, ii. 38; Neand. viii. 302. On this and other points John de Lugio, who professed to be a reformer of catharism, differed much from the main body. Reiner., 1722.

[p] Monet. I. i. p. 5; i. 9; Luc. Tud. iii. 2; Disput. c. 16; Schmidt, ii. 105.

The later miracles of the church were denied,[q] and members of the sect sometimes threw ridicule on them by applying to some famous worker of miracles for the cure of a pretended ailment, and afterwards exposing the imposture.[r]

The cathari professed an especial knowledge of Scripture,[s] and a reverence for it which excluded all deference to tradition, and to the authority of the doctors of the church. Yet, like many other sectaries whom we have met with, they regarded Moses as an organ of the devil, and disparaged the Old Testament in general,[t] although they made exceptions in favour of such parts of it as are quoted in the New Testament, and some of them seem to have admitted the poetical and prophetical books.[u] They had vernacular versions of the Scriptures, and it is a significant fact as to the origin of the sect that these were based on the Greek.[x] With these, they received some apocryphal books, which were also of eastern origin—among them, an apocryphal Gospel of St. John.[y]

The cathari are said to have held the doctrine of absolute predestination, and to have been traducianists in their opinion as to the soul.[z] By their Manichæan

[q] Monet. II. c. vi.

[r] Neand. viii. 323. For other devices by which they ridiculed the miracles of saints and of images, see Luc. Tud. in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 122, 244.

[s] The old woman of Reims (p. 307, note [p]) answered all arguments, "tam facile, tam memoriter, tanquam omnium scripturarum notitiam adepta esset." R. Coggesh. in Bouq. xviii. 92.

[t] Monet. I. i. 6; II. vi.-vii. Moneta argues for the unity of Scripture, including the Apocrypha.

[u] Disput. 1715-19; Bonac. Præf. 208; Eberh. de Bethun. 1-3; Ermengaud, 3; Bernard, Serm. n Cantica, lxv. 3; Pet. Sarn. 2; Reiner. Summa, 1769, 1773; Moneta, I. i., p. 6; viii., p. 94; II. ix. 4; Hahn, i. 22; Schmidt, ii.

[x] Hahn, i. 94; Schmidt, ii. 271.

[y] Published in Thilo's Codex Apocryphus N. Test. See his remarks, p. 884; Neander, viii. 279; Hahn, ii. 385. Another of their books was the 'Ascension of Isaiah,' which has been published by Archbp. Laurence, from the Ethiopic version. See Moneta, II. ix. 4; Giesel. II. ii. 624-5; British Magazine, xxii. 121.

[z] Disput. coll. 1720, 1756-8; Moneta, I. i. 5-6; II. iv.; V. xv.

view as to the origin of all visible things they were led to deny the efficacy of Baptism administered with water, and the possibility of any change in the eucharist.[a] Christ, they said, did not baptize with water, but with the word and the Holy Spirit.[b] They also derided the rite of confirmation, and the whole ecclesiastical system of confession, penance, and excommunication.[c] Yet they had sacraments of their own, which, with a rigour far exceeding the most rigid system of the church, they declared to be absolutely necessary to salvation; so that, from their manner of insisting on rites and works, their adversaries took occasion to charge them with denying the power of faith.[d] Of these sacraments, the chief was the *consolamentum*, which they supposed to be the true baptism of fire—the rite which at once restored to each man for his guide the original heavenly soul which had been lost by the fall,[e] and conveyed the gift of the consoling Spirit or Paraclete.[f] The form of administering this began with the novice's publicly confessing his sins, and professing a desire to give himself to God and the gospel; after which the minister, holding the Gospel of St. John (or, according to some authorities, the whole New Testament) before his breast, pronounced absolution, laid the book on the novice's head, repeating the Lord's prayer seven times, and welcomed him by taking his

[a] Eckbert says that they openly opposed the baptism of infants, but more secretly denied all water-baptism (i. 2). Cf. Præf. in Bonacurs. 209; P. Sarn. 2; Disput. c. 8; Mapes de Nugis Curial. 61; Eberhard, cc. 5, 8; Ermengaud, 11-12; Eckbert, vi., viii., xi.; Monet. IV. i. 1-4; iii. 1; Hahn, i. 75; Schmidt, ii. 120, 132.

[b] Disput. c. 7. For this they alleged Matth. iii. 11; Acts i. 5; John vii. 38-9.

[c] P. Sarn. 2; Ermengaud, 13; Moneta, IV. iv.; V. v. 6-7.

[d] Neand. viii. 313-14. Eberhard (c. 16) brings this charge—much to the annoyance of his Jesuit editor, who thinks it necessary to vindicate him from a possible suspicion of Calvinism. See too, Præf. in Bonacurs. 209; Moneta, IV. iv. 3 (who cites against them the case of the thief on the cross); Ermengaud, 14; and as to the sectaries at Arras, vol. iv. p. 123.

[e] Monet. I. i., p. 4.

[f] Everwin. in Patrol. clxxxii. 6-8.

right hand and kissing him.[g] The administration of this rite was not limited to the clergy of the sect, but might, in case of need, be performed by any one who had received it—even by women. But if the *consolamentum* were given by a sinner, it was null; and, in order to guard in some degree against the danger of its invalidity, it was commonly received twice, or oftener.[h] For any grievous sin committed afterwards—such as eating flesh, cheese, or eggs—it was necessary to do penance and to be reconsoled;[i] but as to the more venial sins, a sincere confession was regarded as sufficient, and for this purpose there was a solemn monthly confession, styled *appareilamentum*.[k]

The other sacraments of the sect were—Blessing of Bread (which was performed over their daily food, and by which they supposed themselves to receive the spiritual nourishment of the Saviour's body),[l] Penance, and Ordination.[m] The whole ritual system of the church was condemned; churches were said to be dens of thieves, church bells to be trumpets of devils, the cross to be the mark of the beast, the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.[n] Images were denounced, and it is said that,

[g] Reiner. Summa, 1764, Append. 1776; Ermengaud, 14; P. Sarn. 2, fin.; Eckbert, viii. 2; Monet. IV. i. 1. See Schmidt, ii. 124-8. Reiner says that the sectaries of Albano held that the effect of this rite was produced by the Lord's prayer—the hand used in it being of the devil's creation; but that other parties considered the hand also to be necessary. Summa, 1-

[h] Reiner. Summa, 1762, 1767 Moneta, III. v. 8; IV. i. 1; ii.; V. i. 1; Ermengaud, 14. Schmidt remarks, that although the "perfect" women of the sect might give the *consolamentum* there is no mention of them as preaching. ii. 95.

[i] Ermeng. 15; Schmidt, ii. 109. Peter of Vaux-Cernay says that if one of the perfect sinned mortally, as by eating of flesh or cheese, all who had been "consoled" by him lost the gift, and even those who were in heaven fell. He then required re-consolation. c. 2.

[k] Reiner. Summa, 1764, 1766; C. Schmidt, ii. 135; Hahn, i. 79.

[l] Bernard, Serm. in Cantica, lxvi. 8; Everwin. in Patrol. clxxxii. 678; Reiner. Summa, 1763; C. Schmidt, ii. 129; Maitland, 261-3.

[m] Reiner. 1762; Hahn, i. 77.

[n] Præf. in Bonacurs.; Disput. col. 1739; Eberhard, 4, 7; P. Sarn. 2; Eckbert, i. 2; ix. Peter of Vaux-Cernay charges them with committing gross indecencies in church. 4 15.

by way of bringing them into contempt, the sectaries painted the saints under an uncomely form, and departed from the traditional type in representing the Saviour's cross.[o] Lights and incense, vestments, altars, chanting, the ceremonies of the mass and of ordination, holy water, relics, pilgrimages, unction of the sick, the doctrine of purgatory, the intercession of saints, the use of alms, prayers and masses for the dead, the festivals of the saints and all other holy days of the church, were utterly disallowed.[p] But the cathari are said to have kept in honour of their founder a festival called *Malilosa*, which is identified by Eckbert of Schönau with the Manichæan *Bema*,[q] although that was celebrated in March, and the *Malilosa* in autumn.[r] Their opinion as to the origin of matter involved the denial of the resurrection of the body;[s] and they are said—(although this seems irreconcilable with other opinions imputed to them)—to have held that all sins are equal, and will be equally punished—that "the traitor Judas will fare no worse than the child of one day old."[t]

They denied that the true priesthood was in the Roman church, which they supposed to have been apostate from the time of pope Sylvester, whom they regarded as the Antichrist.[u] The church was the harlot of the Apoca-

[o] Luc. Tudens. col. 122, C; l. ii., c. 10-11. Schmidt doubts this. ii. 113-14.

[p] Ermengaud, 8-10, 17; Eberhard, 4, 11-12; Præf. in Bonacurs.; Moneta, IV. iv. 5; vi. 2; ix. 2, 5; V. viii. 2-10; Hahn, i. 72, 79, 84.

[q] See vol. i. p. 199.

[r] Eckbert, i. 2. See C. Schmidt, ii 139; Neand. viii. 298. The meaning of the name is unknown.

[s] Eberhard, c. 9; Pet. Sarn. 2; Moneta, I. i., p. 5; IV. viii.; Disput. c. 10; Ermengaud, 16; Hahn, i. 85.

[t] Moneta, IV. xii.; Reiner. Summa, 1763. From the masculine "Venite benedicti" (Matt. xxv. 34) it was inferred that women could not be saved in their own sex, but must be changed (Eberhard, c. 18). The cathari of Albano held that the world would have no end, and that there would be no judgment to come, all recompense being in this life. Reiner. Summa, 1769.

[u] Liber Sentent. 6; P. Sarn. 2; Disput. c. 17; Eckbert, i. 2; x.; xi. 1; Præf. in Bonacurs.; Moneta, III. iv; V. i. They turned the donation of Constantine against the Roman church, arguing that, as Constantine's empire was one of violence and injustice, and as he made it over to Sylvester, the popes are successors of Constantine, not of St. Peter. Moneta, V. ii. 1.

lypse; all its ministrations were vain, and the true priesthood was confined to their own communion. But, unless many ancient writers are mistaken,[x] they had a pope of their own in Bulgaria, with whom the western sectaries kept up an intercourse.[y] They had also an order of bishops, under each of whom were two chief assistants, known as his elder and his younger son, and an order of deacons.[z]

The members of the sect were divided into two classes —the *imperfect* or *fœderati* (who, according to some writers, were subdivided into *hearers* and *believers*),[a] and the *elect* or *perfect*. The perfect were those who had received the *consolamentum*, and by the form of admission to it were pledged to great severity of life. They no longer belonged to themselves, but were bound to travel and to labour for the service of the sect; they were to avoid and to renounce marriage, which was declared to be so fatal that no married persons could hope for salvation unless they separated before death; and, as a consequence of the opinion as to the unlawfulness of all sexual intercourse, they were to abstain from eating animals or their productions—fish alone, as coming out of the water, being excepted.[b] And as it was held that penance for sins would

[x] See p. 313.

[y] Everwin, in Patrol. clxxxii. 679; R. Wendover, iv. 87 (where there is an account of the election of a Catharist pope, named Bartholomew, in 1223). See Maitland, 191; Gieseler, II. ii. 631; and the account of the Monteforte heretics, vol. iv. p. 124. Some writers, however, think that the so-called popes were only bishops of more than ordinary influence. See Hurter, ii. 218; C. Schmidt, ii. 145-9.

[z] Reiner. Summa, 1766; Moneta, IV. vi. 2. See Giesel. II. ii. 631; Neander, viii. 315; C. Schmidt, ii. 142. Eckbert (i. 3) says that they had twelve apostles, and that their bishops were 72, in imitation of our Lord's disciples. But this seems to be merely an uncritical repetition of St. Augustine's account of the Manichæans (Hæres. 46, Patrol. xlii. 38), to which Eckbert refers as an authority. See Gieseler, II. ii. 547.

[a] Everwin, in Patrol. clxxxii. 678. See Hahn, i. 83.

[b] Bern. in Cantica, lxvi. 6; Everwin, 678; Reiner, Summa, 1761, 1776; Moneta, II. v., p. 140; IV. vii.; Rein. c. Waldenses, 266: Ermengaud, 5; Eckbert, i. 2; v.; vi. 1-7; Præf. in Bonacurs. 209; Mapes, 61; Disput. 171-5; P. Sarn. 2; Eberhard, cc. 7, 20; Eymeric, 440; Hahn, i. 72-3, 86; C. Schmidt, ii. 93-5.

be wrought out in this world by means of a transmigration of the soul, it was forbidden to kill all animals, except creeping things, in which it was believed that souls capable of salvation could not be contained.[c]

The cathari reproached the church for assuming that there were various states of life in which men might be saved, and taught that their own sect and state only were lawful. As, in order to salvation, it was absolutely necessary to die in the sect,[d] the *fœderati* were required to receive the *consolamentum* on their sick-beds, if not before; many entered into an agreement known as "la Convenenza," that it should be administered to them in their last moments;[e] and some, after having received it, starved themselves to death lest they should be again defiled by a relapse into sin.[f] Besides this, which was styled *endura*, suicide was allowed in various cases, such as that of extreme persecution;[g] and it is said that, in order to obtain for the receivers of clinical consolation a higher place in glory, it was usual for their friends to starve or to strangle them.[h]

Reinerius Sacchoni tells us that many of those who had been admitted into the perfect grade, regretted that they had not taken advantage of their former immunity to indulge more fully in sin; that, in consequence of the belief in the all-purifying virtue of the *consolamentum*, the lives of the *fœderati* were very lax; and that he himself, during a connection of seventeen years with the sect, had never seen any member of it pray by himself, or show any token of sorrow for sin.[i] Other writers bring against the cathari accusations of magic, incest,

[c] C. Schmidt, ii. 45-7, 84; cf. vol. i. p. 195.

[d] Reiner. Summa, 1762; Eberh. c. 19; Luc. Tud. iii. 5; Eckbert, i. 2, col. 16.

[e] Lib. Sentent. 19, seqq.

[f] P. Sarn. 2; Gieseler, II. ii. 560; Neander, viii. 319.

[g] Schmidt, ii. 103. See the remarkable case of suicide committed by a woman named Guilielma, in Lib. Sentent. 70-76

[h] Reiner. adv. Wald. 272; C Schmidt, ii. 102.

[i] Summa, 1764; cf. Pet. Sarn. 2.

and other abominations such as are usually laid to the charge of heretical parties.[k] Oaths, and even affirmations, such as "truly" and "certainly," were strictly forbidden; it is said that the "perfect" would rather die than swear, although the "believers" swore as freely as they lied.[l] The use of equivocation was sanctioned, especially in answer to questions as to the sect,[m] so that the opponents of the cathari compare them to eels, "which, the more tightly they are squeezed, the more easily they slip away."[n] They considered all war and all capital punishment to be murder, and declared the pope and his bishops to be murderers for countenancing wars;[o] and they denounced with especial severity all wars and persecutions for the sake of religion.[p] The "perfect" renounced all property, professing to follow the Saviour and his apostles in poverty, and they were constant in declaiming against the wealth and secularity of the clergy. It is, however, said that they themselves were fond of money, that they practised usury and other unscrupulous means of getting it, and that—partly from avarice, and partly from a disbelief in the efficacy of alms towards salvation—they were uncharitable to the poor.[q] The graver invectives against the clergy were relieved by the performance of ludicrous parodies on the services of the church.[r]

[k] Annales Rodenses, A.D. 1139 (Pertz, xvi.); Cæsar. Heisterb. v. 19, 24; Pet. Sarn. 2; Mapes, 61-2; Luc. Tud. iii. 5. See Schmidt, ii. 152.

[l] Bern. in Cant. lxv. 2; Reiner. Summa, 1762; adv. Wald. 266; Eberhard, c. 14; Pet. Sarn. 2; Ermeng. 17; Præf. in Bonac. 209; Moneta, V. 9.

[m] Eckbert, ii. 4.

[n] Reiner. adv. Wald. 274; cf. Steph. de Borbone, ap. Monet. ed. Ricchini, 15. A like comparison to serpents had been used against the Orleans heretics of 1022. Gesta Synodi Aurelian. in Dachery, i. 605.

[o] Disput. c. 12; Reiner. Summa, 1761; Moneta, V. xiii. 3, seqq.; Eberhard, 15; Hahn, i. 80, 87-8. Moneta, as becomes a Dominican, strenuously defends persecution—among other reasons, because our Lord scourged and drove out those who bought and sold in the temple. V. xiii. 1.

[p] Eberh. c. 10; Everwin, 677; C. Schmidt, ii. 93.

[q] Disput. c. 9; P. Sarn. 2; Reiner. Summa, 1765; Moneta, II. iii. 2; V. xii.; xiv. 2.

[r] Peter of Vaux-Cernay tells us that Raymond VI. of Toulouse (whom his

The zeal of the cathari in attempting to gain proselytes was indefatigable. They distributed little tracts in favour of their opinions—sometimes leaving them on the mountains, in the hope that shepherds might find them and might carry them to the clergy to read.[s] The missionaries of the sect disguised themselves, changed their names, and assumed the character of catholics, that they might enter into disputation with avowed catharists, and might allow these to gain the appearance of victory. In order that they might have the arts of disputation at their command, young men of promising abilities were commonly sent from Lombardy and Tuscany to acquire dialectical and theological knowledge in the schools of Paris.[t] The members of the sect were made known to their brethren by letters of recommendation and by secret signs; even their houses were distinguished by marks which enabled the initiated to recognize them.[u] Their hospitality to members of their own community was unbounded, as we learn especially from a letter written by a person who, affecting the character of a brother, had lived on them for some years—being recommended by one congregation to another, from Lombardy to the Danube, and partaking of the luxuries which they enjoyed in secret.[x]

The rigid lives (in appearance, at least) of the perfect produced a strong impression on those who saw them, so that many of them even gained a high reputation for sanctity. Thus, after the death of one Armanno Pungilupo, at Ferrara, in 1269, the Ferrarese demanded canonization for him on the strength of his holy life and of miracles which he was said to have done, and

enemies connected with the cathari), kept a buffoon who parodied the office of the mass. 4.

[s] Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, c. 1, in Mart. Thes. vii. 74; Luc. Tud. iii. 4, 10.

[t] M. Paris, 609 (A.D. 1243); Humb. de Romanis, in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 447; Neand. viii. 320.

[u] See Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 131; Neand. viii. 322; Schmidt, ii. 95.

[x] M. Paris. 609; cf. Eberh. in Bibl. Patr. xxiv. 1566; Neand. viii. 321 2.

the claim was supported not only by the canons of the cathedral, but apparently by the bishop. The investigation of the case lasted for no less than thirty years; but at length it was clearly proved that Pungilupo, while professing to forswear the patarine errors with which he had at one time been charged, had continued to be in reality an active official of the sect;[y] and, although the canons had almost to the last adhered to his cause,[z] Boniface VIII. decreed in 1301 that his body should be taken up and burnt as that of a heretic, and that an altar which had been erected to him, with all pictures and sculptures in honour of him, should be destroyed.[a]

(5.) Among the minor sects of the time, the Pasagini, of northern Italy, may be mentioned on account of the opposite nature of their errors in some respects to those of the cathari. By some, the name of these sectaries has been deduced from their unsettled manner of life;[b] by others, from *pasagium*, a common term for the crusades, by means of which expeditions it is supposed that their opinions were brought into the west.[c] Like the Manichæan heretics, the pasagini denied the unity and the equality of the Divine Persons, and condemned the Roman church; but, in marked opposition to the catharist doctrines as to the Old Testament, they maintained the abiding obligation of the Mosaic law —of circumcision, the sabbath, and the distinction of clean and unclean meats.[d]

[y] Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 93, seqq. The evidence is given pp. 117-48.

[z] Ib. 117. Salimbene says that the bishop and clergy got much gain by his pretended miracles. 276.

[a] Mur. Ant. v. 141, 146; Bern. Guidonis, in Bouq. xxi. 712; F. Pipin, iii. 48, in Murat. Scriptores, ix.; Chron. Estense, ib. xv. 348.

[b] Guericke, ii. 305; Hahn, i. 57.

[c] See Maitland's 'Facts and Documents,' 449; Neander, viii. 332-3; Hahn, iii. 2; C. Schmidt, ii. 294, and in Herzog, art. *Pasagier*.

[d] Bonacurs. in Dachery, i. 211-12 (or Patrol. ccix.); Hahn, iii. 1. Gieseler (II. ii. 563) identifies them with a party at Milan, mentioned by Landulf the younger (c. 41; Patrol. clxxiii.); but this is questioned by Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Pasagier*.

(6.) The early history of the Waldenses has been obscured by two opposite parties who identify them with the Albigenses—the one party with a view of involving Waldenses as well as Albigenses in a common charge of Manichæism,[e] while the other party regards the Albigenses, no less than the Waldenses properly so called, as free from Manichæan error, and as the inheritors and maintainers of a pure and scriptural Christianity.[f] By the supporters of this latter view, the name of the sect is derived from the *valleys* of Piedmont, where its faith is supposed to have been preserved and transmitted from the time of the apostles by a chain of witnesses, among whom Vigilantius, in the fourth century, and Claudius of Turin, in the ninth, are conspicuous.[g] The Waldenses themselves, in the thirteenth century, professed to have existed as a distinct body from the time of pope Sylvester I.—when they supposed that the poison of secularity had been poured into the church by the imaginary donation of Constantine—or even from the days of the apostles.[h] But such pretensions are

[e] *E. g.*, Mariana, Præf. in Luc. Tud. (Bibl. Patr. xxv. 110). Bossuet avoids this error. Hist. des Variations, l. xi.

[f] Beza is said to have been the first who maintained this opinion (Schröckh, xxix. 528). Among the older writers on the same side may be mentioned Leger (Hist. Gén. des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piedmont, Leyd. 1669), Basnage, Morland, Perrin, and Allix; among the later, Mr. Faber and Dr. Gilly. For its utter untenableness (although, according to Schmidt, ii. 269, it is an article of faith with "*la High-Church*" in England), see Neand. viii. 352; Gieseler, II. ii. 565-6; Hase, 282; Guericke, ii. 317; Hallam, M.A. ii. 440-5; Suppl. Notes, 408; Schmidt, ii. 267, seqq.; Hahn, ii. 162-3, 385-7; Lechler, i. 47-8; and especially Dr. Maitland's 'Facts and Documents' and his later publications on the subject. It was possible, as Dr. Maitland observes (F. and D. 95), for a man to be at once an Albigensian by country and a Waldensian by religion; and the enemies of the sects were in the habit of confounding them all together; but yet the real distinction between these two kinds is clear. In the 'Liber Sententiarum' of the Toulouse inquisition, Waldenses appear occasionally, but as distinct from the cathari, and as refugees from Burgundy. (Ib. 264-9.) Limborch says that that book was the means of showing him the difference between the two sects. l. i. c. 8.

[g] In favour of this theory, it is wrongly supposed that Claudius separated from the Roman communion. See vol. iii. p. 316.

[h] Reiner. adv. Wald. c. 4. Against this notion, see Pet. Pilichdorf. in

contradicted by the unanimous testimony of writers who lived soon after the origin of the sect—that it was founded by one Waldo or Waldensis, about the year 1170.[i] And the only connection of their name with valleys in the early writers is of a figurative kind; as where one tells us that they styled themselves Vallenses from sojourning in the *vale* of tears,[k] or where another derives the name

Bibl. Patrol. xxv. 278; Hahn, ii. 20, seqq. For other Waldensian views, which confound all chronology, see Giesel. II. ii. 586. Moneta says that it was about eighty years before his time that they originated with Valdesius, a citizen of Lyons, and therefore they cannot be God's church. "Si autem dicunt quod sua via ante Valdensem [*sic*] fuit, ostendant hoc aliquo testimonio; quod minime facere possunt." (V. i. 4, p. 402.) Gieseler supposes that, in answer to objections against them on the ground of novelty, the Waldenses said that their faith was apostolic, and that hence arose, through misconception, the idea of a distinct body and a regular transmission of doctrine from the apostolic age. II. ii. 565.

[i] See Maitland, 33, seqq.; Lechler, i. 49. Among the grounds alleged for the greater antiquity of the sect are a number of Waldensian poems and other documents, which, according to Leger and his followers, belong to an earlier time. The most famous of these is the 'Noble Lesson,' which, as printed, has in the beginning the date—

"Ben ha mil e cent ancz compli entierament
Que fo scripta l'ora car sen al dernier temp;"

and in v. 372 has these words—

"Ilh dion qu'es Vaudes e degne de punir."

Hence it has been inferred that the name of *Vaudes* as a designation of the sectaries was as old as A.D. 1100. (Leger, 15; cf. Hahn, ii. 64, 80.) In order to get over the difficulty of this passage, various expedients were tried, the most plausible being that of supposing that the 1100 years were to be reckoned, not from the beginning of the Christian era, but from the date of the Apocalypse, to which the verses refer, *i.e.* about a century later; and it was pointed out that, as the poem speaks of severe persecutions as having already taken place, it could not be older than the 13th century. (Schröckh, xxix. 528; Maitland, 121-34; Giesel. II. ii. 574; Herzog, 'Die romanischen Waldenser,' 84-6, 89, Halle, 1853.) But Mr. Bradshaw has lately brought to light, in the Cambridge University Library, the MS. from which the original edition was printed, and which had long been supposed to be missing; and in it the reading, visible notwithstanding an erasure, is "Ben ha mil e 4 cent an," while another MS. reads "cccc ans." This brings the 'Noble Lesson' to the 15th century (Herzog, xvii. 521, 526-7; Todd's 'Books of the Vaudois,' 210, 219, Camb. 1864). And it is said that the other Waldensian MSS. show traces of a Hussite connexion, and are therefore still later (Herzog, 10-12, 80; xvii. 522, 527-9). See the British Magazine (where there is much learned matter on these subjects), xvi. 608; xviii. 601, seqq. The 'Nobla Leyçon' is to be found, with many other Waldensian documents, in Hahn, vol. ii. Append. (with Raynouard's translation into modern French); and in Herzog's appendix (from a collation of MSS. at Dublin and Geneva). There is an English translation in Brit. Mag. xx. 128, seqq.; and other Waldensian poems are translated in the same volume, 633, seqq.

[k] Ebrard. de Bethun. 25. (Patrol. xxiv.) This is the only old writer who

of *Valdenses* from their dwelling in the deep and *dense valleys* of darkness and error.[1]

Peter Waldo,[m] a rich merchant of Lyons, is said to have been deeply impressed by the death of one of his fellow-citizens, which took place at a meeting of the chief inhabitants of the place. His mind being thus turned to spiritual things, he became desirous to understand the Gospels which he had been accustomed to hear in church; and he employed two ecclesiastics, Stephen of Evisa (or Ansa), and Bernard Ydros, to translate them into the vernacular tongue, with other portions of scripture and some passages of the fathers,[n] which were regularly arranged under heads.[o] Struck with the idea of imitating our Lord and His apostles in voluntary poverty, Peter threw all his wealth to the poor, and, in company with some associates of both sexes

uses the form Va*ll*enses, by which he means *some* of the Waldenses, while those whom he styles *Waldenses* are really Albigenses (cc. 2-25. See Maitland, 98-100, 102-5, 386; Gieseler, II. ii. 555).

[1] Bernard. Fontis Calidi Abbas 'Adv. Waldensium Sectam,' Prolog. (Patrol. cciv. 793). It will be seen that this writer considers the *d* as an essential part of the name; which is inconsistent with the derivation from *vallis* (Maitland, 104; Herzog, 114). Nor does the fondness of mediæval writers for playing with figurative etymologies at all prove that they were ignorant of, or disallowed, the real derivation from the founder's name. Herzog, 116. See Maitland, 506-7; Gieseler, II. ii. 567; and on the other side, Dr. Gilly, in Brit. Mag. xiv. 753.

[m] He is called *Waldus* (Alanus, ii. 1); *Waldius* (Pet. Sarn. c. 2); *Valde* (Mapes, 64); *Waldensis* (Steph. de Borbone, in D'Argentré, i. 87; Yvonet. 1777); *Valdisius*, *Valdesius*, etc (Moneta, quoted p. 328, n. [h]; see Gieseler II. ii. 567). The name has been derived from a supposed birthplace (Pet. Pilichdorf. c. 1); but this has not been satisfactorily identified. (See Mosheim, ii. 505; Herzog, 116.) For the commonness of the name in the middle ages, see Maitland, 107. The fancy that he got his surname from a previously-existing party of Waldenses (Hahn, ii. 251-4) is quite groundless. See Herzog, 113. The earliest authority for his bearing the name of Peter is a MS. of 1404. Herzog, xvii. 504. [When Herzog is cited simply, his book on the Waldenses is meant; when "xvii." is attached to his name, his article in that volume of his Encyclopædia.]

[n] See as to the Waldensian use of the fathers, Herzog, 136, seqq.

[o] Stephanus de Borbone, in D'Argentré, i. 87; Yvonet. 1777; Reiner. adv. Wald. c. 5; Anon. Carthusianus de Religionum Origine, c. 25 (Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi.).

whom he had gained, he began to preach in the streets of the city, and in the neighbouring villages. But the archbishop of Lyons,[p] on hearing of these proceedings, forbade Peter and his friends to teach ; and on receiving the answer that they must "obey God rather than man" —that the Saviour had commanded them to "preach the gospel to every creature"—he excommunicated them, and expelled them from his diocese. On this, Peter, who had no intention of separating from the church, but aimed at the revival of what he supposed to be apostolical purity within it,[q] sent two of his party to Rome, with orders to exhibit to Alexander III. some specimens of their translations from the Scriptures, and to request his sanction for their labours. The subject was referred by the pope to a commission, and Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford, who has left an account of the proceedings, was appointed to examine the Waldenses. Their simplicity and their ignorance of theological language excited the laughter of the examiners, and their application to the pope was ineffectual, although the Lateran council, which was sitting at the time, did not include them in its condemnation of heretical parties.[r] In 1184, however,

A.D. 1179.

[p] The archbishop named (Steph. de Borb. l. c. ; Yvonet. l. c.) is John de Belmeis, who, as bishop of Poitiers, had been one of Becket's chief friends, and has been already mentioned as a missionary against the cathari (p. 314). But, as his translation to Lyons was not before 1181, there must be some mistake here (Gieseler, II ii. 569). The 'Anonymus' of Laon gives a somewhat different account of the conversion of Waldo, whom he describes as having got his wealth "per iniquitatem fœneris." Bouq. xiii. 680, A.D. 1173.

[q] Maitland, 468; Herzog, 194; Lechler, i. 54.

[r] Mapes de Nugis Curialium, 64-5 (who shows a strong feeling as to the danger which the church was in from the party "quos si admiserimus, expellemur"). The anonymous Laon chronicler says that Peter Waldo himself went to Rome, and that the pope embraced him, and approved his vow of poverty, but forbade him to preach except at the request of the clergy (Rec. des Hist. xiii. 682) ; and Moneta states that Alexander allowed him to preach on condition of his keeping to the four great doctors—Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome (V. i. 4). Hence it is argued by some writers (as Hefele, v. 636) that in the

"those who falsely style themselves *humiliati*, or 'poor men of Lyons,'" were, with other sectaries, put under perpetual anathema by Lucius III.; and it would seem that to them the pope intended especially to point in his denunciation of some who, under an appearance of piety, presume to preach without being duly sent, so that the condemnation was not for heterodoxy, but for irregularity.[s]

From this time the "poor men of Lyons" (as they were called from their claim to evangelical poverty of spirit[t]) became more decidedly separate from the church, and their opinions were more distinctly developed in opposition to it. They spread into the south of France, into Lombardy,[u] and into Aragon, where in 1194 Alfonso II. issued a decree for their expulsion as enemies of the cross and of the kingdom.[x] The earliest real evidence which connects them with Piedmont is of the year 1198, when James, bishop of Turin, obtained from the emperor Otho IV. authority to use forcible measures against them.[y] The progress of the sect was rapid. In Lombardy and Provence the Waldenses had more schools than the catholics; their preachers disputed and

story told by Map, the name of Alexander III. has been wrongly substituted for that of Innocent III., and that the application which he speaks of is the same which the Auersperg chronicler states to have been made by the "Humiliati seu Pauperes de Lugduno," to the pope in 1212. Innocent objected to some of their peculiarities as to dress, etc., and they replied that these came from the apostles (Chron. Ursp. 243). See Schröckh, xxix. 534; Giesel. II. ii. 570; Guericke, ii. 319.

[s] Ep. 171 (Patrol. cci.); Schröckh, xxix. 534. The name of Humiliati has led to some confusion between the Waldenses and an order so called. See below, c. xiii. ii. 1.

[t] Steph. de Borbon. in Gieseler, II. ii. 568; Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Summa, 1761. They were also called *Leonistæ*, from *Leona*, a name of Lyons; and hence an imaginary Leo was afterwards supposed to have been their founder. Giesel. II. ii. 565.

[u] Bern. Font. Cal., Prolog.; Reiner. Summa, 1775; Gieseler, II. ii. 572.

[x] It is printed in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 110. In the same year Bertrand de Saisset, as guardian of the young viscount of Beziers, promised the bishop of that place "nec hæreticos vel Valdenses in prædicta villa vel episcopatu. . . . inducemus." Hist. de Langued. iii., Preuves, No. 62. See above, p. 316.

[y] Herzog, 272.

taught publicly, while the number and importance of the patrons whom they had gained rendered it dangerous to interfere with them.[z] In Germany we are told that they had forty-one schools in the diocese of Passau,"[a] and they were numerous in the dioceses of Metz and Toul.[b] In most of these quarters the ground had been prepared for them by the labours of earlier sectaries, and by the faults and unpopularity of the clergy;[c] and their zeal in endeavouring to gain converts was unremitting. Female agency was largely employed, and through it the men were won "as the serpent deceived Adam by means of Eve."[d] The missionaries of the sect are said to have used underhand arts for the purpose of spreading their doctrines;[e] thus they would disguise themselves as pedlars, and having in that character obtained access to the houses of nobles, they took occasion from the nature of their wares to exhort to the purchase of heavenly jewels.[f] With the simpler people, they began by promising to disclose great things to them; and, after having tried their secrecy by imparting to them some plain lessons of morality with a confidential and mysterious air, they went on to teach the more peculiar doctrines of the sect.[g] Their eagerness to study and to learn, and their remarkable acquaintance with the vernacular Scriptures, are acknowledged by their adversaries. Labourers and artisans, after the work of the day, devoted their evening hours to study; and it is stated, in reproof of the indolence of the clergy, that a poor Waldensian used to swim across a river in wintry nights to reach a catholic whom he wished to convert.[h] They

[z] Reiner. c. Wald. 264.

[a] Ib.

[b] Odo Tullens. Statuta, A.D. 1192, c. 9, Patrol. ccv. (where they are called *Wadoys*); Alberic Tr.-Font., A.D. 1200 (Bouq. xviii. 763); Cæsar. Heisterb. v 20; Gieseler, II. ii. 571-2

[c] Reiner. c. Wald. 264

[d] Yvonet. 1781; Bern. Font. Cal. 71.

[e] P. Pilichdorf, cc. 11, 13.

[f] Yvonet. 1781, 1785; Reiner. c. 8.

[g] Yvonet. 1783; Reiner. c. Wald. 264; Refut. Error. in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 303.

[h] Reiner. c. Wald. 264. Peter of

taught and learned everywhere—even in lazar-houses.[i] If any ignorant person met their exhortations to learn by pleading inability, they told him that, by learning a single word daily, he would in a year master more than three hundred.[k] But the knowledge of the sectaries was not of any wide or scholarly kind, so that they are often derided for their illiteracy,[l] through which it is said that they fell into ludicrous misinterpretations of Scripture;[m] and as they were themselves illiterate, they made their ignorance a ground for condemning all "privileged" or liberal studies.[n] It is said, too, that in consequence of their occupation in the study of Scripture, they allowed but little time for devotion, and that they admitted no other form of prayer but the Paternoster.[o]

The especial peculiarity of the Waldenses was that, while they avoided the Manichæism by which the sectaries of their time were for the most part infected, they endeavoured more thoroughly than the Petrobrusians or the Henricians to form a system of belief and practice derived from the Scriptures only.[p] At first their distinctive tenet had been the right of the laity to preach; and this they gradually carried out to the extent of maintaining, not only that lay persons might teach in subordination to the authorities of the church, but that they might preach and might administer all Christian rites in opposition to the clergy; that the right to

Pilichdorf complains that, instead of trying to reform the wicked, they confined themselves to the well-disposed, whom they endeavoured to make children of hell like themselves. c. 10.

[i] Reiner. c. Wald. 263.

[k] Ib. 264. See Gieseler, II. ii. 572-3.

[l] See, *e.g.*, Alan. c. Hæreticos, ii. 1; Reiner. c. Wald. 272.

[m] Thus we are told that in John, i. 11—"In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt"—they mistook *sui* for *sues*; and that in Psalm lxvii. 30 (Lat.)—"Increpa feras arundinis"—they translated as if the word were *hirundinis*. Reiner. c. Wald. 264.

[n] Pet. Pilichdorf, c. 35.

[o] Reiner. c. Wald. 272; Pet. Pilichd. 28.

[p] Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Schröckh, xxix. 553; Hahn, i. 408. Yet Herzog shows that, with this pretension, they combine much of Roman opinion.

minister was not conferred by ordination, but depended on personal piety.[q] In the early days of the sect this claim was not limited to the male sex;[r] but it would seem that the ministrations of women were afterwards forbidden.[s] From this principle the Waldenses proceeded to a general enmity against the clergy, whom they charged with having cast them out of the church from envy of their virtue and popularity, and decried in all possible ways.[t] After their excommunication, they declared the pope to be the source of all error,[u] the church to be the apocalyptic beast and the whore of Babylon; that it had been apostate, and had lost its spiritual power, from the time of Sylvester,[x] whom they identified with the "little horn" of Daniel's prophecy, although they held that in all ages there had been some who maintained the true faith, and were inheritors of salvation.[y] They limited salvation to their own sect, as being the only body which lived like the Saviour and his apostles.[z] They declared monks and clergy to be the scribes and pharisees, children of the devil, disallowed all distinctions of order and rank among them, and wished to confiscate all their endowments and privileges, so as to reduce them to the condition of diggers, earning their bread by the labour of their hands.[a] Yet, while

[q] Pet. Sarn. 2; Yvonet. 1779; Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Bern. Font. Cal. 4; Alan. ii. 8, 9, 13; Pet. Pilichdorf, cc. 16-18. Moneta attacks them as to the origin of their orders. V. i. 4.

[r] Moneta, V. v. 8.

[s] See Reiner. Summa, 1775; c. Wald. 265; Herzog, 150.

[t] Yvonet. 1778, 1785; Reiner. c. Wald. 265.

[u] Reiner. ib.

[x] Ib.; Summa, 1770; Moneta, V. i. 1; v. 1; Yvonet. 1779; Anon. in Martene, Thes. v. 1754; Nobla Leyçzon, 408, seqq.; Herzog, 204. Moneta, however, says that the "ultramontane" Waldenses—*i. e.* those north of the Alps—allowed the seven sacraments of the Romish church, and professed themselves willing to receive these from her, if they might (V. i. 5). See as to the difference between the northern and the Lombard sections, Herzog, xvii. 509.

[y] Reiner. Summa, 1775.

[z] Yvonet. 1778; Reiner. c. Wald. 265.

[a] Ib. 264-5, 268; cc. 19-20; Yvonet. 1779; Alan. ii. 2; Bernard. Font. Calid. 1-2; Refutatio Errorum in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 302; Moneta, v., vii.

they themselves professed rigid evangelical poverty, and avoided the pursuits by which wealth might be gained, it was held that the teachers were entitled to be maintained by the "imperfect" members of the sect;[b] and some of their opponents represent them as notorious for idleness, and for a love of basking lazily in the sunshine.[c] Like the cathari, the Waldenses opposed the whole ritual system of the church, with everything that pretended to a symbolical character,[d] and denied the claims of the clergy to the powers of excommunication, absolution, and exorcism.[e] They also disallowed the right of the church to make laws or constitutions, alleging that the Saviour's teaching was enough.[f] They attended the public services, confessed and communicated, but it is said that in their hearts they mocked at such observances.[g] They denied the efficacy of baptism, especially in the case of infants, whom they believed to be saved without it.[h] As to the eucharist, some represent them as supposing it to be merely figurative;[i] but according to other authorities they held that the elements really underwent a change—not, however, in the hands of the priest, but in the mouth of the faithful receiver.[k] In the consecration, as in the rest of their services, they made use of the vernacular tongue.[l] They denounced the penitential system of the church, as alike burdensome and unavailing, and contrasted with it the full and free forgiveness which their own sect offered, after the

[b] Yvonet. 1781; Alan. ii. 1, 24-5.

[c] Ebrard. c. 25, p. 1572.

[d] Reiner. c. Wald. 265-6; Pet. Pilichdorf, cc. 21-3, 26-8; Yvonet. 1779; Bern. Font. Cal. 12; Refutatio Errorum in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 302.

[e] Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Anon. in Mart. Thes. v. 1774; P. Pilichd. 1134.

[f] Moneta, V. vi.

[g] Yvonet. 1782; Reiner. c. Wald. 272.

[h] Reiner. Summa, 1775; c. Wald. 265; Yvonet. 1779.

[i] Ib.

[k] Reiner. c. Wald, 265. See Schröckh, xxv. 552; Herzog, 215. Dr. Maitland remarks that Yvonet is the only authority for the other view, and that, if they had differed from the church on this point, much more would have been said of it. (470-3.) See too D'Argentré, i. 108.

[l] Reiner. c. Wald. 265.

example of the Saviour's words, "Go, and sin no more."[m] They denied the doctrine of purgatory, and the lawfulness of the practices connected with it—some of them believing in an intermediate state of rest or of punishment, while others held that souls on leaving the body go at once to their final abode.[n] They denied the miracles of the church, and pretended to none of their own, although in later times some of them professed to see visions.[o]

The Waldenses are described as quiet, modest, and formal in their manners.[p] They regarded a lie as a mortal sin, which no circumstances could excuse; but it is said that they avoided answering directly, and had "feigned consciences" which suggested ingenious evasions to them.[q] They eschewed commerce on account of the falsehoods which were supposed to be involved in the practice of it, and restricted themselves to manual labour.[r] As to oaths, war, and capital punishment, their views agreed with those of the cathari.[s] At the outset they affected poverty of dress, and one of their names —*sabatati* or *insabatati*—was derived from the sandals which they wore in imitation of the apostles;[t] but such peculiarities were afterwards abandoned, and they are described as grave but not sordid in their attire.[u] They avoided and sternly denounced the ordinary amusements of the world; "every step that one takes at a dance,"

[m] Reiner. c. Wald. 265, 272.

[n] Ib. 266; Anon. in Martene, Thes. v. 1754; Yvonet. 1780; P. Pilichdorf, cc. 19-21, 30; Alan, ii. 11-12; Bernard, Font. Cal. 9-11; Herzog, 159-60.

[o] Alan, ii. 1; Yvonet. 1779; P. Pilichdorf, p. 300.

[p] Reiner. c. Wald. 272; Yvonet. 1784.

[q] Ib. 1780, 1782; Alan. ii. 15; Reiner. c. Wald. 264. As to their slipperiness in dealing with inquisitors, see Eymeric, 429.

[r] Reiner. c. Wald. 272.

[s] Ib. 265-6; Summa, 1775; Yvon. 1780, 1784; Pet. S. Chrysog. in Patrol. cxcix. 1223; Pet. Sarn., ib. ccxiii. 348; P. Pilichdorf, 36; Alan, ii. 19-22; Moneta, V. i. 4, init.

[t] Ebrard. Bethun. c. 25; Gieseler, II. ii. 567.

[u] Reiner. c. Wald. 272. But Peter of Pilichdorf speaks of some who wore a suspicious dress, and would not give it up when required by a judge. 300.

it was said, "is a leap towards hell."[x] They were scrupulous in the use of blessings before and after meals.[y] Unlike the cathari, they held it lawful to eat meat, even on days when it was forbidden by the church;[z] and they held marriage to be lawful, although they regarded celibacy as higher.[a]

Much as the Waldenses differed from the church, it is admitted by their ecclesiastical opponents that they were "far less perverse than other heretics,"[b] that they were sound in their faith as to the doctrines which relate to God, and received all the articles of the creed;[c] so that, in the south of France, they were sometimes allied with the clergy in defence of these truths against Manichæan and other sectaries.[d] While they highly exalted the gospel above the law, it was in no spirit of Manichæan disparagement of the older scriptures.[e] And, although they did not escape the popular charges of secret and abominable rites, or the imputation of hypocrisy,[f] the general purity of their morals is allowed by their opponents.[g]

III. From the sectaries of this age the transition is easy to the visionaries who were among its remarkable features; for, however devoted to the papacy these might

[x] 'Del Bal,' a later Waldensian writing, quoted by Hahn, ii. 13.

[y] Eymeric, 441.

[z] Reiner. Summa, 1775; Anon. in Mart. v. 1774.

[a] P. Pilichdorf, 1445; Yvon. 1779; Reiner. c. Wald. 265; Herzog, 147-9; Nobla Leyçzon, 242, 434. From disallowing the canonical prohibitions of marriage in the more extreme degrees, they are charged with maintaining the lawfulness of marrying the nearest relations. Rein. c. Wald. 265; Anon. in Mart. v. 1775.

[b] Pet. Sarn. 2 (Patrol. ccxiii. 548).

[c] Reiner. c. Wald. c. 4.

[d] Will. de Pod. Laurent., Prolog., in Bouq. xix. 193, who says that they disputed "acutissime." See Herzog, B. ii. c. 6.

[e] Herzog, 129-30, referring to the 'Nobla Leyçzon.' The charges of Yvonet (1781) and of Bernard of Fontcaud (xii. 4) on this head evidently arise from a confusion with the cathari. See Hahn, ii. 266-8.

[f] *E. g.*, Yvonet. 1779-80; Alan. ii. 1, col. 180; Eymeric, 441.

[g] Reiner. c. Wald. c. 4.

be, they agreed with the sectaries in denouncing the secularity of the clergy, in crying out for a reform, and often in prophesying their downfall. Among the most noted of these visionaries were two German abbesses—Hildegard, of St. Rupert's near Bingen, whose name has already come before us,[h] and Elizabeth of Schönau. Elizabeth appears to have been of a very nervous temperament, and was frequently visited with severe illness.[i] It is said that, from the age of twenty-three, she was in the habit of falling into trances on Sundays and holidays, at the hours when the church was engaged in its most fervent devotions. In these trances she uttered oracles in Latin, although unacquainted with that language; and, after having long refrained from telling the visions with which she was favoured, she was at last constrained by the threats of an angel, and by the authority of her ecclesiastical superior, to dictate a report of them to her brother Eckbert—the same who has already been mentioned as a controversialist against the cathari.[k] In her visions she was admitted to behold the saints, the angelic hierarchy, and the blessed Virgin—whom she speaks of by the title of "Queen of Heaven,"[l]—and from them she received revelations on difficult and doubtful points.[m] Among other things, she is said to have learned, after much inquiry, that the mother of our Lord was "assumed" both in body and in soul; she contributed to the legend of St. Ursula, by giving names to many of the newly-found relics of the 11,000 virgins;[n] and in connection with that fabulous company were revealed to her the existence and the history of a fabulous pope Cyriac, who

A.D. 1152-65.

[h] See p. 150.

[i] Eckbert. Vita Eliz. 12, 71-2, etc. (Patrol. cxcv.) See Acta SS., Jun. 18.

[k] Eckb. 1, 4. See p. 304.

[l] Eckb. 16.

[m] See Schröckh. xxix. 28-30; Patrol. cxcv. 177, note.

[n] Eckb. 83, 116; n. in Eckb. 177 Gieseler, II. ii. 459; Annal. Palith. in Pertz, xvi. 90. For the legend of St. Ursula, see the next chapter, sect. iii. 9.

was said to have resigned his dignity that he might share in their travels and their martyrdom.[o] In a letter to Hildegard, Elizabeth complains that forged prophecies were circulated under her name; among them, that she was reported to have foretold the day of judgment.[p] Both Hildegard and Elizabeth, although they were devoted to the Roman church, and have, without any formal canonization, attained the honour of saintship,[q] were strong in their denunciations of the faults of the clergy;[r] and Hildegard foretold that these would be punished by heavy chastisements, of which the heretics were to be the instruments.[s] Such prophetesses as these nervous and enthusiastic women had a powerful influence on their age;[t] but it is probable that the writings which bear their names have been largely tampered with, or in great part composed, by those through whose hands they have passed.[u]

The most famous and the most remarkable of all the visionaries was Joachim, a Calabrian, who was born in 1145 (or, according to some, as early as 1130) and died in 1202.[x] In his youth he was introduced by his father to the court of Roger II. of Sicily; but in disgust at the courtly life he broke away, and went on a pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, where he distinguished himself by the severest ascetic exercises.[y] On his return he became an inmate, and afterwards

[o] See Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 45-8.

[p] Eckb. 3.

[q] Patrol. cxcv. 116; Schröckh, xxviii. 21-2, 30.

[r] Eliz. ap. Eckb. 64, 74, 103, 109, 137, etc.; Hildeg. Epp. 48-9, etc.; Neand. vii. 303-4.

[s] Ep. 48, coll. 250-2; Ep. 49 (Patrol. cxcvii.).

[t] See a notice of what would now be styled an "addolorata,"—a cowherdess named Alpis, of the diocese of Sens, about 1180, by Robert of Auxerre, in Bouq. xviii. 248.

[u] Schröckh, xxviii. 30; M. Paris says that Hildegard's prophecies gained great authority by her clear predictions of the rise and influence of the new orders of friars. 548.

[x] Acta SS., May 29, p. 90; Hahn, iii. 72-4. Tiraboschi places his death in 1207. iv. 102.

[y] Vita 1-2 (Acta SS., l. c.).

abbot, of Corace, a Cistercian monastery near Squillace; and, after a time of solitary retirement and study, he founded the abbey of Fiore, near the confluence of the Albula and the Neto, which became the head of a new and very rigid order.[z] Although Joachim's opinions did not pass without question among his contemporaries,[a] he exercised a powerful influence over important persons both ecclesiastical and secular. His labours on the obscurer parts of Scripture were encouraged and approved by three successive popes—Lucius, Urban, and Clement.[b] Richard of England and Philip of France, on their way to the Holy Land, held conferences with him at Messina, when it is said that Richard was greatly impressed by the prophecies which he professed to have derived from the Apocalypse;[c] and in 1191 he threw himself in the way of Henry VI. with such effect that the emperor was persuaded to desist from his ravages and cruelties, and requested him to expound the prophecy of Jeremiah.[d]

Joachim is described as remarkable not only for piety, but for modesty.[e] The gift which he claimed was not

[z] Vita, 3-6; Cœlest. III. Ep. 279 (Patrol. ccvi.); Hahn, iii. 80. Ralph of Coggeshalle describes him as "ordinis Cisterciensis, sed Cisterciensibus minime subjectus" (839). He seems to have been in some trouble with the heads of the Cistercian order in 1192. Capit. Gener. c. 12, in Martene, Thes. iv. 1274.

[a] The writer known as Benedict of Peterborough says that many learned men controverted his views, "tamen sub judice lis est" (638). Cf. Rob. Altiss. in Rec. des. Hist. xviii. 253; Anon. Carthus de Religionum origine, c. 28 (Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 61).

[b] Vita, 4; Clem. III. Ep. 63 (Patrol. cciv.); Tirab. iv. 104.

[c] Ben. Pet. l. c.; R. Coggeshalle, in Mart. Coll. Ampliss. v. 839; Rob. Altiss. in Rec. des Hist. xviii. 259; Anon. Carthus. l. c.; Vinc. Bellov. xxix. 40. See Tirab. iv. 106.

[d] Vita, 7; Sicard. in Patrol., 532. It is said that Henry's Germans, in indignation at the abbot's interference, exclaimed, "Quanta mala latent sub cuculla ista!" (Vita, c. vii. p. 106), He was called to attend on the empress Constance, and found her seated. On her expressing a wish to confess, he told her that he could not hear her unless she would descend from her chair of state, and sit like the penitent Magdalene at the feet of him who was in the place of Christ. To this she humbly submitted. Ib.

[e] Ib. p. 107.

that of prophecy, but of understanding.[f] This gift, however, was supposed to have rendered him independent of the ordinary means of learning, for it is said that, until supernaturally enlightened, he was wholly illiterate;[g] and hence it was natural that he should denounce the method[h] of the schoolmen, whose attempts to attain to spiritual knowledge by means of their own reason he likened to the efforts of the men of Sodom to break in the door of Lot's house—the house of contemplation.[i] Thus he was led to make a violent attack on Peter Lombard's doctrine as to the Trinity, and to draw on himself in consequence the censure of the fourth Lateran council,[k] as having vented a heresy which savoured of tritheism.[l] With his doctrine of the Trinity, however, was connected one of the chief parts of his prophetical system—the doctrine of the Three States, in which the government of the world was conducted by the three Persons of the Godhead respectively. These states

[f] R. Coggeshalle, 839; Vinc. Bellov. xxix. 40; W. Nangis. A.D. 1186 (Dacher. Spicil. iii.); Hahn, iii. 82.

[g] This Dr. v. Döllinger supposes to be a fiction, intended to exalt his authority. 'Prophetic Spirit,' tr. by Plummer, 106.

[h] Coggesh. 839; Chron. Turon. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 1026.

[i] Hahn, iii. 126. I cannot pretend to any acquaintance with Joachim's writings, except through the medium of other works, especially the 'Acta Sanctorum' for May 29; vol. iii. of Hahn's 'Ketzergeschichte;' and some papers by the late Hon. Algernon Herbert in the British Magazine, xvi.-xviii. There is also a good article on him by C. Schmidt in Herzog's Encyclopædia. Of the works ascribed to him, Hahn considers the 'Concordia Veteris et Novi Testam.,' the 'Psalterium Decem Chordarum,' and the Exposition of the Apocalypse, to be genuine, while the commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah are much interpolated, if not spurious—being marked by a want of the modesty which pervades the genuine writings, a greater pretence of definiteness, and a greater tenderness towards the faults of the Roman Church. 83-6. Comp. Acta SS., 126, seqq.; Neand. vii. 306.

[k] Can. 2, A.D. 1215. The canon goes on to forbid that its condemnation should be made a ground for decrying Joachim and his order; and Honorius III. declared that it was not to be understood as condemning any other of his books than the one in which he had attacked P. Lombard (Vita, 5; cf. Acta SS., 132; Decret. Gregorii, I. i. 1, 2; Eymeric, 5-6; Raynald. 1220. 31). That this was the 'Psalterium,' see Hahn, iii. 89-90 (quoting Engelhardt).

[l] See Hahn, iii. 86-8; Brit. Mag. xvi. 492.

were not wholly distinct in time; for one was said to begin when another was at its height, and as the earlier state ended, the next attained to its height of "fructification" or "clarity." Thus, the first state, in which men lived according to the flesh, began with Adam, reached its clarity in Abraham, and ended with Zacharias, the father of St. John the Baptist. The second state, which is divided between the flesh and the Spirit, began with Elijah, and reached clarity in Zacharias; the third began with St Benedict, and its clarity—the outpouring of the Spirit upon *all* flesh—was to be at the end of the forty-second generation from the Nativity—*i.e.*, in the year 1260.[m] The character and mutual relation of these states were illustrated by a variety of comparisons. In the first, the mystery of the kingdom of God was shown as by stars in the darkness of night; the second was as the dawn, and the third as the perfect day.[n] The three answered to the respective attributes of the Divine Persons—power, wisdom, and love.[o] The letter of the Old Testament was of the Father; the letter of the New Testament, of the Son; and, as the Holy Ghost proceedeth from both the Father and the Son, so under His dispensation the spirit of both Testaments would be manifested.[p] The first was the state of slavery; the second, of filial service; the third, of friendship and freedom.[q] There was first the state of married persons; next, that of clerks; lastly, that of monks, hermits, and contemplatives.[r] The three were respectively typified in St. Peter, who represents the power of faith; in St. Paul, the representative of knowledge; and in St. John, the representative of

[m] Hahn, iii. 106-15.

[n] Ib. 108.

[o] Ib. 127.

[p] Ib. 110, 125-6. Joachim supposed a twelvefold understanding of Scripture—historical, moral, tropological, contemplative, anagogical, and mystical—the last being of seven kinds. Ib. 131-57.

[q] Ib. 108.

[r] Ib. 107.

love and contemplation, who was to tarry till his Lord should come.[s] According to this system, the world was on the eve of a great change; the first sixty years of the thirteenth century—the last years of the forty-two generations between the Incarnation and the consummation of all things—were to be a middle period; and in the last three years and a half of this time Antichrist would come.[t] It is said that Joachim told Richard of England that Antichrist was already born at Rome; and that the king replied that in that case he must be no other than the reigning pope, Clement.[u] But Joachim looked for Antichrist to arise from among the patarines, and expected him to be supported by an antipope, who would stir him up against the faithful, as Simon Magus stirred up Nero.[x]

Against the existing clergy Joachim inveighed in the strongest terms; and he especially denounced the corruptions of the Roman cardinals, legates, and court, while he spoke with peculiar reverence of the papacy itself.[y] He regarded Rome as being at once Jerusalem and Babylon—Jerusalem, as the seat of the papacy; Babylon, as the seat of the empire, committing fornication with the kings of the earth.[z] For he regarded the German empire with especial abhorrence, and denounced all reliance of the church on secular help; the bondage

[s] Hahn, iii. 112; Neand. vii. 316-17 (Joh. xxi. 22).

[t] Brit. Mag. xvi. 370-1; Hahn, iii. 118.

[u] Ben. Petrib. 635-6; Hoveden, 388, *b*; R. Coggesh. 839. Hence Baronius was led to style Joachim "pseudo-propheta" (1190. 8); but the Bollandists try to vindicate the abbot by saying that under the name of Antichrist Frederick II. was meant (Acta SS., Mai. 29, p. 135). The chronicle of Mortemar says under the date of 1210 — "Hoc tempore fuit quidam pseudopropheta, qui dicebat antichristum jam esse adultum, et diem judicii imminere." (Patrol. clx. 398.) Was this Joachim? As to the expectation of Antichrist in that age, see Will. de Nangis, A.D. 1175.

[x] Neand. vii. 312-13; Hahn, iii. 116-17.

[y] Hahn, iii. 101-2. Mr. Herbert considers Joachim's system as a deep plot, concerted with the popes. Brit. Mag. xvi. 494.

[z] Neand. vii. 310; Gieseler, II. ii. 353; Brit. Mag. 371-2.

of the church under the empire was the Babylonian captivity; the popes, in relying on the king of France, were leaning on a broken reed which would surely pierce their hands.[a] On account of the connexion with the Byzantine empire, as well as of its errors as to the Holy Ghost, he very strongly censures the Greek church, which he compares to Israel, while the Roman church is typified by Judah; yet, in accordance with that comparison, he supposes the eastern church to contain a remnant of faithful ones, like those seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal. The only merit which he acknowledges in the Greeks is, that among them the order of monks and hermits originated.[b] These he considers to be figured in Jacob, while the secular clergy are as Esau.[c] The seculars were to perish as martyrs in the final contest with Antichrist; and after his fall the monks would shine forth in glory.[d] Thus the papacy was to triumph, but its triumph was to be shared by the monks only; and Joachim's view of the final state of liberty and enlightenment, through the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit, excluded the need of any human teachers.[e]

That Joachim's works have been largely tampered with appears to be unquestioned; and this was the case with a passage in which he was supposed to have foretold the rise of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders.[f] In its original shape the prophecy contained nothing beyond what might have been conjectured by his natural sagacity; he speaks of two men who are to begin the contest with Antichrist, and he seems to expect that these will arise from among the Cistercians.

[a] Neand. vii. 305, 310-11; Hahn, iii. 113-16.
[b] Ib. 105-6.
[c] Ib. 110.
[d] Ib. 119.
[e] Neand. vii. 320; Brit. Mag. xvi. 498, seqq.
[f] Theod. Appold. Vita S. Dominici, 58; Lib. Conformitatum S. Franc. 16*. 17*; Acta SS., Aug. 4, p. 379; Wadding, i. 15.

But in its later form the two individuals become two new orders, which are to preach the "everlasting gospel,"[g] to convert Jews and Mahometans, and to gather out the faithful remnant of the Greek church, that it may be united to the Roman; and the characteristics of the Dominicans and Franciscans are marked with a precision which proves the spuriousness of the passage. And as, of the two new orders, the Franciscans are preferred, it would seem that the forgery is rather to be traced to them than to the Dominicans.[h]

That there was much danger in Joachim's speculations is evident, although he protested that his belief was entirely in accordance with that of the church;[i] yet it would be a mistake (however natural) to suppose that he meant to represent Christianity itself as something temporary and transitory. For he speaks only of two Testaments, which, according to him, were to be followed, not by a third, but by an enlightenment as to the meaning of the two.[k] And his reputation, supported on one side by papal approbation of his works and of his order, while on the other side it was disparaged by the general council's condemnation of his doctrine as to the Trinity—continued to be of a mixed and doubtful kind. Notwithstanding that the gift of miracles,[l] as well as that of prophecy, was claimed for him, an attempt to procure his canonization at Rome in 1346 was unsuccessful;[m] but he has obtained at the hands of the great Florentine poet a place among the beatified spirits in Paradise.[n]

[g] Revelation, xiv. 6. See below, Book VIII., c. viii. 2.

[h] See Acta SS., Mai. 29, p. 138; Hahn, iii. 119-24; Gieseler, II. ii. 354; Brit. Mag. xvi. 368.

[i] D'Argentré, i. 121.

[k] Neand. vii. 318-19.

[l] Vita, c. 8.

[m] See Acta SS., 110, seqq.; Brit. Mag. xvi. 367. Alexandre Noël thinks him guilty of error, but not of heresy Cent. XIII. Diss. ii., t. xvi. 16-20.

[n] St. Bonaventura is supposed to be the speaker—

> 'E lucemi da lato
> Il Calavrese abate Gioacchino,
> Di spirito profectico dotato."
> —*Paradiso*, xii. 139-41.

Salimbene's very curious and amusing

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) By the labours of Gregory VII. and his followers the papacy was exalted, not only in opposition to the secular powers, but in its relations to the rest of the hierarchy; and the continual increase of its influence over the whole church was unchecked by those frequent displays of insubordination among the subjects of its temporal power which compelled the popes of this time to be in great part exiles from their city.[a] While emperors, instead of confirming the elections of popes, as in earlier ages, were fain to seek the papal confirmation of their own election—while they and other sovereigns were required to hold the pope's stirrup, to walk as grooms by the side of his horse,[b] and to kiss his feet[c]—while it was taught that to him belonged[d] the "two swords," that kingdoms were held under him, and that the highest earthly dignities were conferred by him[e]—the principles of Gregory went beyond those of the False Decretals by making St. Peter's successor not merely the highest authority in the church, but the

memoirs afford throughout incidental evidence of the great popularity of such prophecies as Joachim's in the 13th century. Cf. Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 147-8.

[a] The combination of vast influence at a distance with impotence at home is expressed by Giraldus Cambrensis in his verses on leaving Rome (Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. 434) :—

Mirum quæ Romæ modicos sententia Papæ
Non movet, hic regum sceptra movere potest!
Quæ minimos minimè censura coercet in urbe,
Sævit in orbe fremens, celsaque loca premens.
Cui malè sublatus Romæ non cederet hortus,
Nititur ad nutum flectere regna suum."

[b] From this the Greek Cinnamus argues that the "king of Germany" could not be really emperor. v. 10.

[c] This was required by Gregory's "Dictates." See vol. iv. p. 292; Gieseler, II. ii. 224.

[d] See Fleury, Disc. at end of b. lxxix. sect. 12.

[e] See Planck, IV. ii. 725.

sole authority—all other spiritual power being represented as held by delegation from him.[f] Thus Innocent II. told the Lateran council of 1139 that all ecclesiastical dignity was derived from the Roman see by a sort of feudal tenure, and that it could not be lawfully held except by the pope's permission.[g] We have seen that an oath of fidelity to the pope was exacted of St. Boniface, when sent as a missionary bishop into Germany;[h] and in other special cases such oaths had been sometimes required. Now, however, an important change was introduced by Gregory, who in 1079 exacted of the patriarch of Aquileia a new episcopal oath, which was in part modelled on the oath of secular fealty, and which thus implied a feudal dependence of the bishop on the pope, as the source of all his powers.[i] By Gregory himself this was not imposed on any others than metropolitans and his own immediate suffragans; but in no long time it was exacted of all bishops,[k] who now professed to hold their office not only "by the grace of God," but also by that "of the apostolic see."[l] In some instances Gregory appeared to scruple as to interfering with the ancient right of metropolitans to consecrate their suffragans; and even later popes thought it well to make courteous apologies for having invaded the metropolitan privileges by such acts.[m] But Gregory's council of 1080 had decreed that

[f] Planck, IV. ii. 613-15; Neand. vii. 269; Giesel. II. ii. 222.

[g] "Quasi feodalis juris consuetudine." Chron. Mauriniac. in Patrol. clxxx. 168.

[h] Vol. iii. p. 64.

[i] Conc. Rom. A.D. 1079, in Patrol. cxlviii. 812-13.

[k] Planck, IV. ii. 621-6; Gieseler, II. 233-5. Ralph de Diceto mentions with a strong appearance of distaste the exaction of a new oath from Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1193. Twysden, 671; Id., Hist. Vindication, 63-4.

[l] "Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus." The first instance of this form is said to be in the will of Amatus of Nusco (see vol. iv. p. 57), A.D. 1093; Giesel. II. ii. 237, who says that Thomassin (I. i. 60, cc. 9 and 19) is very incorrect on the subject.

[m] See Planck, IV. ii. 677-82; Schmidt, ii. 527; Helmold, i. 80-2; Gervas. Dorob. in Twysden, 1444-6. Paschal II., on being requested to consecrate

the election of bishops should be approved by the pope or the metropolitan ;[n] and, as bishops-elect became more and more disposed to flock to Rome (especially in cases of disputed election, as to which the popes claimed an exclusive right to decide, and in most cases established it before the end of the century),[o] the power of confirmation and consecration was gradually transferred from the metropolitans to the pope alone.[p]

The exercise of penitential discipline was also now assumed by the popes in a greater degree,[q] although they still make occasional professions of respecting the rights of the local bishops.[r] The fondness for appealing to Rome in every case is a subject of complaint, not only on the part of princes, such as Henry II. of England, but of such ecclesiastics as Hildebert of Tours[s] and Bernard.[t] Gregory VIII. complained of being distracted by needless appeals, and tried to check the practice ;[u] but his pontificate was too short to have much effect. As excommunication deprived of the power of appearing in ecclesiastical courts, bishops and archdeacons sometimes resorted to it as a means for the prevention of appeals ; but this was forbidden by the Lateran council of 1179.[x]

But it was not by appeals only that causes were transferred from the provinces to the Roman court. There was a tendency to carry questions at once to the pope—passing over the local authorities to whose jurisdiction they in the first instance belonged ;[y] and the reservation of "greater causes" to the pope alone became more and

an Icelandic bishop, referred him to the archbishop of Lund. Münter, ii. 87.

[n] Can. 6.

[o] Planck, IV. ii. 49, 63-4.

[p] Ib. 632, 682-3 ; Giesel. II. ii. 236.

[q] Ib. 239.

[r] See Alex. III., Ep. 134 (Patrol. cc.) ; Gervas. Dorcb. in Twysden, 1364. See Gregory VII.'s letter to Henry, bishop of Liége. Ep. vi. 4 (Patrol. clxviii.).

[s] Ep. ii. 41 (Patrol. clxxi.).

[t] See p. 156 ; also Ep. 178 (Patrol. clxxxii. 340).

[u] Ep. 15 (Patrol. ccii.).

[x] Can. 6.

[y] Planck, IV. ii. 166, seqq.

more injurious to the rights of the bishops and metropolitans. Among these causes were canonization, which (as we have already seen) was for the first time reserved to the holy see by Alexander III.,[z] and dispensations as to marriage, oaths, translation of bishops, and other matters. Dispensations, in the sense of a license given beforehand to do something which was forbidden by the laws of the church, had been unknown in earlier times, when the only kind of dispensation granted was a forgiveness of past irregularity.[a] But now popes began to claim the right of granting dispensations beforehand, and of exercising this power in all parts of the church, concurrently with the local bishops. In this, as in other things, the tendency of the age led men to apply to the pope or to his legates rather than to their own bishops; and thus by degrees the pope's authority in such matters, from having been concurrent with that of the bishops, was established as exclusive by Innocent III.[b]

Among the means of enforcing the idea that all ecclesiastical power belonged to the pope, the system of legation was the chief. In former times, the only representatives whom the popes had maintained in foreign countries were their "apocrisiaries" at Constantinople, or at the court of the earlier Frankish emperors;[c] at a later date, such legates as were sent forth were employed only on special occasions, and for some particular business. But from the time of Leo IX. legates were appointed with commissions unlimited either as to the nature of their business or as to the duration of their power; and this system was developed by Gregory VII. so that every

[z] Vol. iv. p. 186; Schröckh, xxvii. 97; Gieseler, II. ii. 239.

[a] Sometimes an apparent breach of the canons had been sanctioned beforehand—*e.g.*, the translation of a bishop. This, however, was not really a license to break the canons, but a declaration that they were not held to apply in the particular case. Planck, IV. ii. 660.

[b] Ib. 661-6; Schröckh, xxvii. 320; Gieseler, II. ii. 227.

[c] De Marca, l. v. cc. 16-18; Planck, IV. ii. 640.

country had its regular legate—whether one of the local prelates, or an emissary sent directly from the papal court.[d] These legates, according to Gregory, were to be heard even as the pope himself.[e] It had before been held that the pope, on personally visiting a country, might summon the bishops to a council; and now this power was extended to the legates, in contempt of the authority of the metropolitans.[f] The legates acted everywhere as the highest authorities, although themselves perhaps in no higher order than that of deacon or subdeacon. They cited metropolitans and all bishops under pain of suspension, deposed bishops, wrested cases from the ordinary courts, and threatened the vengeance of the pope against all who might oppose them.[g] Yet the alliance of these Roman emissaries was so important to bishops, and especially in strengthening them against the secular power, that few bishops dared to provoke their enmity.[h] The assumption, the rapacity, the corruption of the legates were excessive and even proverbial. They were authorized to draw their maintenance from the countries which they passed through, as well as from those to which they were destined,[i] and no limits were set to the demands which they were allowed to make for procurations, so that John of Salisbury speaks of them as "raging in the provinces as if Satan had gone forth from the presence of the Lord for the scourging of the church."[k]

[d] De Marca, l. vi. cc. 30, seqq.; Schröckh, xxvii. 74; Planck, IV. ii. 641, 654.

[e] See vol. iv. p. 304.

[f] Planck, IV. ii. 697-8.

[g] Ib. 642-3. See the accounts of John of Crema, by Gervas. Dorob. (1663), and of Albert (afterwards Gregory VIII.), by R. de Diceto (603), who describes him as "*Latialiter* incedens per Angliam."

[h] Schröckh, xxvii. 75.

[i] Planck, IV. ii. 645-66, 653-66.

[k] Polycratic. v. 16 (Patrol. cxcix. 580); cf. viii. 17 (col. 783). For similar quotations from Ivo and others, see Gieseler, II. ii. 245; Neander, vii. 273-4. See, too, Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 212; Fleury, Disc. at end of b. lxxiv., c. 11. About two centuries later the author of "Piers the Ploughman's Vision" wrote thus:—

Bernard, in a letter to a cardinal-bishop of Ostia, has given a remarkable picture of another cardinal, named Jordan, in the character of legate to France—"He has passed from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people, everywhere leaving foul and horrible traces among us. He is said to have everywhere committed disgraceful things; to have carried off the spoils of churches; to have promoted pretty little boys[1] to ecclesiastical honours wherever he could; and to have wished to do so where he could not. Many have bought themselves off, that he might not come to them; those whom he could not visit, he taxed and squeezed by means of messengers. In schools, in courts, in the places where roads meet, he has made himself a by-word. Seculars and religious, all speak ill of him; the poor, the monks, and the clergy complain of him."[m] In some cases sovereigns obtained a promise from the pope that legates should not be sent into their dominions without their consent;[n] but such promises were sometimes broken, and were more frequently evaded by committing the business of legates to persons who were styled by some other title;[o] while, on the other hand, kings sometimes excluded or expelled legates from their territories, or made them swear before admittance that they would do no mischief.[p]

The pretensions of popes with regard to councils rose higher. Princes now no longer convoked such assemblies as in former times; indeed the emperors had no

"The comune *clamat quotidie*
Ech a man til oother,
The contree is the corseder
That cardinals comme inne,
And ther they ligge and lenge moost,
Lecherie there regneth."
Vv. 13,795, *seqq., ed. Wright.*

[1] "Formosulos pueros."

[m] Ep. 290. See Bernard's cautions to Eugenius III. as to his choice of agents, De Consid. iv. 4-5.

[n] From Alexander III.'s writing to Lewis VII. that he would make Becket in his exile legate for France, "dummodo regiæ voluntati sederet et beneplacito tuo" (Ep. 447), Planck infers that there was such a compact with the French king. (IV. ii. 650.)

[o] Ib. 650-1.

[p] See, *e.g.*, Gervas. Dorob. 1434; Ben. Petrib. 145; Hoveden, 365.

longer that general sway which would have procured for any order of theirs obedience from the subjects of other sovereigns.[q] The councils of Piacenza and Clermont were summoned by Urban II. on his own authority, in reliance on the general excitement in favour of the crusading cause. For such a step the ground had been laid by Gregory's summoning bishops from all quarters to his lenten synods at Rome;[r] and in the new episcopal oath there was a promise of attendance at all councils to which the bishop should be cited by the pope.[s] The claims which had been set up for the popes in the False Decretals[t] were now more than realized; for it was held that provincial councils required the pope's authority, not only to confirm them, but to summon them, and it became usual that papal legates should be the presidents.[u] And for all such assemblies there was the dread of an appeal to Rome, with the knowledge that appeals were likely to be favourably entertained.[x] Towards councils themselves, also, the pope's tone became higher than before; thus Paschal II., in answer to the objection that the new episcopal oath had not been sanctioned by any council, declares that the pope is sufficient without a council, although a council is not sufficient without the pope.[y]

A sort of infallibility now began to be claimed for the popes—chiefly on the ground of our Lord's words to St. Peter, "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not."[z] Yet this official infallibility was not supposed to secure the pope against personal errors; and Gratian goes so far as to declare that certain words of Gregory II. are

[q] Planck, IV. ii. 674.
[r] Schröckh, xxvii. 98-100; Planck, IV. ii. 689-92.
[s] Patrol. cxlviii. 813. See Giesel. II. ii. 233-4.
[t] See vol. iii. p. 321.
[u] Planck, IV. ii. 684.
[x] Fleury, Disc. at end of b. lxxiv., c. 2; Schröckh, xxvii. 96.
[y] Ep. 506 (Patrol. clxxiii.).
[z] (Luke xxii. 32.) See quotations in Gieseler, II. ii. 228.

utterly opposed, not only to the canons, but to the doctrine of the Gospels and of the apostles.[a]

(2.) In consequence of the agitation excited by Hildebrand, the election of bishops fell into the hands of the clergy, and more especially of the canons of cathedrals. It was, indeed, admitted by the hierarchical writers that, according to the precedent of early times, the laity ought to have some part in the election. But those whom such writers were willing to admit as representatives of the laity were the great retainers and officers of the church; the sovereign was declared to be shut out from all share in the choice;[b] and, after the pattern of papal elections, which were now confined to the cardinals alone, the election of bishops came to be regarded as belonging to the cathedral clergy exclusively.[c] It was found, however, that the change in the manner of appointment, instead of doing away with that corruption which had been the subject of such indignant denunciations, had only the effect of transferring it from courtiers to canons; and in its new form it worked worse than before, inasmuch as the clergy might choose a bishop with a view of benefiting by his defects, or might make a bargain with him which would be more injurious to the church than any that could be made by a layman.[d] Jealousies, intrigues, and disputed rights, which led to long and ruinous suits, and sometimes to actual war, now became rife, and Frederick Barbarossa had probably good reason for declaring in a well-known speech that the bishops appointed by the imperial power had been better than those whom the clergy had chosen for themselves.[e]

In many countries, however, the sovereigns still retained

[a] Causa II., qu vii. c. 18 (Patrol. clxxxvii.).

[b] *E.g.*, Gerhoh. in Psalm lxiv. cc. 26-7 (Patrol. cxciv.); Schröckh, xxvii. 101-2.

[c] Neand. vii. 276.

[d] Planck, IV. ii. 72-6. See a letter of Conrad III. to Eugenius III. about an election to Utrecht. Ep. ad. Eug. 18 (Patrol. clxxx.).

[e] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 17.

their influence. In France, England, and Spain, the king's licence was necessary before an election, and his confirmation of the bishop-elect was also necessary; while in the Sicilies, Hungary, Denmark, and Sweden, the kings still enjoyed the power of nomination.[f] The appointment of archbishops of Canterbury was the subject of struggles which were renewed at every vacancy, as, in addition to the claims of the king and of the monks of the cathedral, the bishops of the province claimed a share in the election.[g] The most remarkable of these contests was perhaps that which followed on the death of Becket's successor, Richard

A.D. 1184.

The bishops made choice of Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, but the monks refused to concur in this, and pretended to an exclusive right of election, which, they said, had been confirmed to them by the king in penitence for the death of St. Thomas. This claim was asserted with such obstinacy as to provoke Henry to exclaim that the prior of Canterbury, Alan, wished to be a second pope in England;[h] but after a long contest, and much skilful management on the part of the king, it was contrived that some representatives of the monks, who had been summoned to Westminster,[i] should, after declaring the election by the bishops to be null, independently elect the same person on whom the choice of the bishops and of the king had already fallen.[k]

[f] Planck, IV. ii. 43; Gieseler, II. ii. 263; Münter, ii. 63; Hallam, M.A., i. 546. Hoveden speaks of Philip Augustus giving up by treaty to Richard I., in 1199, the "donation" of the archbishoprick of Tours, 449.

[g] See Lingard, ii. 311.

[h] Gervas. Dorob. 1468. Alan, afterwards abbot of Tewkesbury, was one of Becket's biographers.

[i] One way in which the kings exercised influence was by fixing the election at some place distant from the cathedral,—perhaps in their own presence,—where only a deputation of the electors could attend. Lingard, ii. 312.

[k] See Gervas. 1306, 1466-74; R. de Diceto, 620; Bened. Petrib. 44-5; Pauli, iii. 172-3. After the death of the next archbishop, Reginald, the monks met on the day before that appointed for the meeting of the bishops, and chose Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, who had been recommended by Richard I. in a letter from his Ger-

Sovereigns no longer ventured to found bishopricks without the consent of popes; but they strongly resisted the attempts of the popes to parcel out their dominions by new foundations or new arrangements of sees.[l] Yet we have seen that Henry the Lion, of Saxony, although his rank was not that of king but of duke, took it on himself to erect bishopricks in the north of Germany, to nominate bishops, and to grant them investiture.[m]

The question of investiture, after the long contests which it had occasioned, was settled by means of compromises. We have seen how this was arranged in England, and by the concordat of Worms; and also that in 1119 the form of investing by ring and staff was not used in France.[n] But the substance of investiture still remained. A distinction was drawn between *homagium* and *ligium* — the former implying general faithfulness and obedience, while the other included an obligation to serve the feudal lord "against all men who may live or die;" and it was held that the episcopal homage, being unencumbered with this last condition, was lawful.[o] The name of investiture was applied to the ceremony of homage, and Bernard himself speaks of such investiture as unobjectionable.[p] Hugh of Fleury wrote a tract with the intention of mediating between the claims of the church and of the state.[q] He holds that temporal as well as spiritual power is derived from God; that the priesthood, although higher in order than royalty, cannot claim earthly dignity; and that bishops may rightly be invested with their temporalities by princes, although the investiture with ring and staff, as being the

man prison (Gervas. 1583), and "quem aliquo spiritu revelante prænoverant ab episcopis eligendum." R. de Diceto, 669.

[l] Thus Philip Augustus would not allow Lucius III. to make Dol an archbishoprick, against the claims of Tours. Schröckh, xxvii. 111.

[m] P. 288. See Helmold, ii. 1; Arnold. Lubec. ii. 13, 28; iii. 6, 13.

[n] Vol. iv. p. 467; v. pp. 19, 27-8.

[o] Planck, IV. ii. 36.

[p] Ep. clxiv. 5. See Planck, 40.

[q] 'De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate' (Patrol. clxiii.).

symbols of spiritual office, ought to be reserved for the metropolitans. And, although some bishops were disposed to claim an exemption from feudal duties, even such popes as Alexander III. and Innocent III. acknowledged that in regard of their temporalities they were liable to the usual feudal obligations, and were subject to the courts of their liege lord.[r]

In this age popes began to interfere with the patronage of ecclesiastical dignities and offices throughout the western church, the earliest instance being a letter of Adrian IV. to the bishop, dean, and chapter of Paris, as to the bestowal of a canonry on Hugh, the chancellor of Lewis VII.[s] The favoured objects of the papal requests (*preces*) were styled *precistæ;* but, as the requests were the less likely to meet with attention in proportion as their number was unreasonably increased,[t] the more peremptory form of a mandate was adopted—at first as an addition to the requests, and afterwards as a substitute for them.[u] And until a suitable preferment should fall vacant, the patrons were desired to provide out of their own funds a pension for the person recommended to them.[v] When, however, sovereigns attempted any

[r] Alex. in Gregor. Decret. II. ii. 6; Cœlestin. III. Ep. 220 (Patrol. ccvi.), Innoc. III. Ep. i. 13; Planck, IV. ii. 227-8; Gieseler, II. ii. 264.

[s] Ep. 81, Jan. 20, 1156 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Nat. Alex. xiii. 340; Thomassin. de Benef. II. i. 43. 2; Planck, IV. ii. 714.

[t] Jocelin of Brakelond relates that when a clerk presented to Abbot Samson of St. Edmund's Bury "litteras petitorias de redditu ecclesiastico habendo," the abbot produced from his desk seven papal letters, each with its seal duly attached, and told the applicant that when the bearers of these should have been satisfied *his* turn would come;—"but he that cometh first to the mill ought to grind first." P. 41.

[u] Thus Alexander III. uses the form "rogantes et rogando mandantes." (Thomass. l. c., 3.) See Planck, IV. ii. 716; Neand. vii 277. John of Salisbury, writing in the name of a prelate (probably archbishop Theobald) says, "Vulgo dici solet, *et, acceptum fideliter, verum est,* quia summi pontificis voluntas decretum est" (Ep. 23). Thomassin, in quoting this, omits the qualification. l. c.

[v] See Alex. III. to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, in Liverani, Spicileg. 545-6. Foliot, bishop of London, complains of the pope for invading his patronage, ib. 641.

practices of the same kind, the popes were naturally vehement in denouncing them.[x] As yet the papal recommendations, while interfering with patronage, admitted that it rightfully belonged to the prelates, chapters, or monastic societies to whom they were addressed. But in the next century this came to be denied, and the revenues of the church in countries north of the Alps—most especially in England—were preyed on by a host of Italians, forcibly quartered on them by the popes.[y]

In France the growth of the royal power affected the relations of the state with the church. Philip Augustus was sovereign of a territory twice as large as that of Philip I., and the kingdom had advanced very greatly in culture and in wealth.[z] The kings were getting the mastery over their great vassals, and, although in their struggle against these they had been allied with the clergy, they now put forward new pretensions of dignity against the hierarchy itself; thus Philip refused to do homage for certain lands held under the church, like the former tenants, the counts of Flanders, on the ground that the king must not do homage to any one.[a] On the other hand also the bishops lost, both in Italy and in France, by the rise of the municipal communities. The amount of this rise, indeed, was less in France, where the towns were less populous and more distant from each other, where they were not aided by the influence of the clergy, and, instead of being able to combine their energies against one common foe, each town had, as its

[x] *E.g.*, Cœlest. III. to the abbot of St. Pancras at Lewes. Ep. 260 (Patrol. ccvi.). When Richard I. had thrust some clerks into prebends of York, they resigned them, "as if voluntarily," after his death, "scientes donationes illas factas fuisse contra Deum, et in sanctæ ecclesiæ detrimentum." (Hoved. 451, *b*.) See a case in the Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, iii. 8-9 (Patrol. cliii.).

[y] Thomass. I. c. 6; Planck, IV. ii. 715-17.

[z] W. Nang., A.D. 1180; Planck, IV. ii. 122. See for the growth of the royal power, the origin of the communes, etc., Martin, book xx.

[a] Planck, IV. ii. 128.

first necessity, to carry on a feud with some neighbouring noble.[b] All, therefore, that the French communes as yet claimed was civic freedom—not such independence as the Italians achieved. In many cases bishops were the lords from whom emancipation was desired; and, while some struggled against the movement, others accommodated themselves to it. Sometimes they sold privileges to the citizens; sometimes they freely granted them; while in many cases, especially under Philip Augustus, privileges detrimental to the power of the bishops were granted by the sovereign, on condition of payments to the royal exchequer.[c] By means of friendly arrangements with the citizens, indeed, the bishops were able to secure these as allies against the neighbouring nobles; but, although they still retained their high rank in the state, much of the power which had formerly belonged to their order had now passed into the hands either of the sovereign or of the commonalty.[d]

When Gregory VII. propounded his doctrines as to the relations of the ecclesiastical and the secular powers, the imperial cause found many champions among the clergy. But after a time it began to be understood how advantageous the hierarchical pretensions were to the whole clerical body—that the greatness of the pope, as the Hildebrandine system represented him, was reflected in a degree even on the most inconsiderable ecclesiastic. When, too, it was believed that all secular power emanated from the pope, there was less difficulty in believing the same as to spiritual power; and thus, in no long time, the clergy in general were possessed by ideas which ranged them on the side of the papacy in its differences with temporal sovereigns.[e]

(3.) The claims of the church as to matters of judi-

[b] Planck, IV. ii. 137-56; Sismondi, Hist. des Fran. v. 427-9.

[c] Planck, IV. ii. 143, 150, 153; Martin, iii. 321.

[d] Planck, IV. ii. 129.

[e] Ib. 11, 735-6

cature were continually growing.[f] In this respect the popes made a great step by exempting crusaders from all power of civil magistrates, and by forbidding that they should be sued for debts; and this measure, which was allowed to pass unquestioned amid the general enthusiasm for the holy war, became a foundation for other pretensions, which, if they had been nakedly advanced in ordinary circumstances, would have encountered a strong opposition.[g] As the church was supposed to have jurisdiction in all matters to which the canons related, the condemnation of any offence by a pope or a council was supposed to bring that offence within the cognizance of the ecclesiastical courts, which thus claimed the power of judging, whether solely or concurrently, of such crimes as incendiarism and false coining.[h] These courts also claimed exclusive jurisdiction in all cases relating to wills, marriages, and usury;[i] and this jurisdiction was extended by ingenious subtleties. Thus, under the head of usury, a vast number of commercial transactions were brought within their cognizance, and all dealings with Jews were considered to belong to the province of the ecclesiastical courts. In like manner, if a contract were ratified by an oath, a breach of contract became perjury, and a subject for these courts; and on the ground that the vassal took an oath to his lord, an attempt was even made in France to claim for them a right of deciding questions as to fiefs, although this attempt was checked by Philip Augustus and his nobles.[k] When a French council had forbidden the sale of corn on Sunday, it was held that all cases as to the sale of corn were matter for the ecclesiastical tribunals, because the first question in

[f] See Fleury, Discourse at the end of Book lxxxix.; Giannone, iii. 316-22; Robertson's 'Charles V.' iii. 290.

[g] Planck, IV. ii. 728.

[h] Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 17; Conc. Rem., A.D. 1148, c. 15; Conc. Lat. II., c. 18, etc.; Schröckh, xxvii. 145; Planck, IV. ii. 250 Giesel. II. ii. 237.

[i] Giannone, iii. 317.

[k] Sism. vi. 307.

such cases was the inquiry on what day the sale took place.[l] And such extensions of the province of the spiritual courts were made with general approbation, as these were usually less violent in their processes and in their sentences than the secular courts; while ecclesiastics found an inducement to encroach on the business of the secular judges, not only in the increase of their power, but in the fees and other payments which were transferred to them.[m] But the multiplicity of business which was thus brought into the hands of the clergy became, as St. Bernard complains,[n] a temptation to neglect their more proper pursuits; and many canons were passed to check their fondness for acting as advocates, even in the secular courts.[o] The claim advanced in England, that the church should have exclusive jurisdiction over clerks, and in all cases relating to them, has been mentioned in connection with the name of archbishop Becket.[p] In other countries, too, similar pretensions were set up;[q] but it was soon found that in their full extent they were too monstrous to be admitted, and compromises were made, by which, while a large immunity was secured for the clergy, they were yet not to be exempt from the secular magistrates "for man-slaying, theft, arson, or such like common crimes which belong to the pleas of the sword."[r]

(4.) The change introduced into the functions of archdeacons as to the administration of the church has been already mentioned.[s] But now these officers began to set up pretensions to an increase of dignity and in-

[l] Fleury, Disc., sect. 8; Planck, IV. ii. 259-61.

[m] Ib. 231, 238, 257, 261.

[n] De Consideratione, i. 4.

[o] *E.g.*, Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 6; Conc. Lat., A.D. 1139, c. 9; A.D. 1179, c. 12.

[p] See p. 187.

[q] Alex. III. Ep. 1074; Nat. Alex. xiii. 325-9; Planck, IV. ii. 237.

[r] R. de Diceto, 657 (speaking of a compact made in Normandy, A.D. 1190); Schröckh, xxvii. 145, 155, 160; Planck, IV. ii. 233, 242-3; Giesel. II. ii. 268, 270, 273; Dahlmann, i. 196-7

[s] Vol. iii. p. 190.

fluence. Whereas they had formerly attended on the bishops in their visitations, and, if they themselves visited, it was merely as the delegates of the bishops, they now claimed for themselves independent rights of visitation and jurisdiction; they tyrannized over the clergy, and defied the episcopal authority.[t] In some cases, where a new see had been formed by the subdivision of a diocese, the archdeacons attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the bishops; but this claim was disallowed by the popes,[u] who also found it necessary in other respects to check the assumption and rapacity of the archdeacons.[x] When, however, an archbishop of Canterbury attempted to exempt some places from the jurisdiction of archdeacons, Alexander III. forbade this innovation.[y] The advantages of the office continued, as in former times, to attract the desires of laymen, and canons were passed that no one under the order of priest or deacon should be allowed to hold an archdeaconry.[z] Laymen who for the sake of gain desire such an office, says Innocent II., are not to be called archdeacons, but archdevils.[a]

The exactions of archdeacons and rural deans were the subject of many complaints, especially as to the matter of penance, in which they are described as making a gain of sins.[b] John of Salisbury, in a letter to Nicholas de Sigillo on his appointment to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, amusingly reminds him of the terms in which he had formerly spoken of archdeacons as a class excluded from the hope of salvation by their love of

[t] Schmidt, iii. 278; Schröckh, xxvii. 148-9; Giesel. II. ii. 278. See Bernard, Ep. 158.

[u] Schröckh, xxvii. 149.

[x] *E.g.*, Eugen. III., Ep. 533 (Patrol. clxxx.); Alex. III., Ep. 724 (ib. cc.).

[y] Hard. VI. ii. 1798, c. 4.

[z] *E.g.*, Conc. Rem., A.D. 1131, c. 8; A.D. 1148, c. 9.

[a] Ep. 51 (Patrol. clxxix.).

[b] *E.g.*, Theobald. Cant. ap. Joh. Sarisb., Ep. 69 (Patrol. cxcix.); Anon. Lambeth., ib. cxc. 287; Alex. III. in Decret. Gregor. V. xxxvii. 3; Giesel. II. ii. 522; and later, Chaucer's "Frere's Tale."

money, which led them to lie and plunder, and to "eat and drink the sins of the people."[c] From the time of the council of London in 1108[d] canons were passed with a view of checking such practices. Bishops at length attempted to get over the annoyance which they experienced from the archdeacons, by erecting new courts of their own, on the principles of the canon law, and by appointing persons with the title of Officials to preside in these, while they employed "vicars" or rural deans to assist them in their pastoral work.[e] But here again corruptions crept in; for it was soon complained that the bishops made a gain of the new offices by selling them or letting them for hire,[f] and thus compelling the holders to indemnify themselves by extortion;[g] and Peter of Blois (himself an archdeacon) speaks of the officials by the significant name of "bishops' leeches."[h]

In the following century, we find that the practices of archdeacons in England are still complained of, as to exacting money, burdening the clergy with the expense of entertaining an unreasonably large train of their men and horses at visitations, preventing the peaceable settlement of disputes in order to profit by the expenses of litigation, and allowing persons who had been guilty of grievous sin to compound for their offences by pecuniary payments.[i]

[c] Ep. 166.

[d] C. 8.

[e] Schröckh, xxvii. 150; Neand. vii. 292-3; Giesel. II. ii. 279.

[f] Conc. Turon., A.D. 1163, c. 7; Conc. Lat., A.D. 1179, c. 15; Schmidt, iii. 279.

[g] Pet. Cantor, Verb. Abbrev. 24 (Patrol. ccv. 90).

[h] "Tota officialium intentio est, ut ad opus episcoporum suæ jurisdictioni commissas miserrimas oves quasi vice illorum tondeant, emungant, excorient. Isti enim sunt episcoporum sanguisugæ, evomentes alienum sanguinem quem biberunt." (Ep. 25, ib. ccvii. 89.) In like manner he styles the sheriffs and foresters "sanguisugæ principum." (Ep. 96, col. 299.) Ep. 209 is a bitter complaint against officials, addressed to Innocent III. Peter describes the archdeaconry of London as a very poor perferment—having 40,000 people and 120 churches, but no income. Ep. 151.

[i] Constit. Ottonis, 20-1, A.D. 1237, in Lyndewoode, 93; Const. Ottobon. 18-19, A.D. 1268, ib. 116.

(5.) The decrease of gifts to the church has been noted at an earlier date.[k] It seems to have been thought that the endowments were already ample, and the wealth of the clergy and monks, with the corruptions which were traced to it, formed a constant theme of complaint for sectaries, for reformers such as Arnold of Brescia, for visionaries like Hildegard and Joachim, and for satirical poets who now arose in Germany, France, and England.[l] Yet the church's possessions were still increasing by other means. Many advantageous purchases, exchanges, or other arrangements were made with crusaders who were in haste to furnish themselves for the holy war.[m] Much was also acquired by bequest; and the influence of the clergy with persons on their death-bed, together with the circumstance that all testamentary questions belonged to ecclesiastical courts, rendered this an important source of wealth, although in some countries the civil powers already began to check such bequests.[n] And a new species of contract, by which a landowner made over his property to the church, on condition that he should receive it back in fee, was also a means of adding to the possessions of the clergy. For, although these *feuda oblata* differed from the *precariæ*,[o] inasmuch as the fief was granted to the donor's heirs as well as to himself, the church not only derived some present advantages from such arrangements, but had a

[k] Vol. iv. p. 151.

[l] See extracts from poems of the time in Gieseler, II. ii. 249-51, where it is stated, on J. Grimm's authority, that many of the pieces ascribed to Walter Map are by a contemporary German named Walter. Also Neander, vii. 298.

[m] See vol. iii. pp. 389, 417; Planck, IV. ii. 354-6. The chronicler of the monastery of Andres regrets the "pious simplicity" of his abbot Peter, who, during the preparation for the third crusade, would only take lands in pledge, whereas he might have bought them outright on easy terms. Dacher. Spicileg. ii. 822.

[n] See Gieseler, II. ii. 296-8. In Germany it was held that a will was invalid, unless the testator had afterwards been able to go abroad *ungehabt und ungestabt (i.e.* without being supported either by another person or by a staff). Ib. 297; Grimm, Rechtsalterthümer, 96.

[o] See vol. iii. p. 199.

chance of seeing the lineal heirs become extinct, and so of coming eventually into undivided possession of the property.[p]

Tithes were also made more productive than before. It was laid down that they were due on every kind of trade and on military pay;[q] the commentators on such laws even held that the obligation extended to the receipts of beggars and prostitutes.[r] It was, however, found impossible to enforce these rules to the full;[s] and, although Gregory VII. designed the entire recovery of such tithes as had fallen in the hands of laymen, he found it necessary to give up this intention, in order to secure the alliance of the nobles, which was essential to him in his enterprise against the power of sovereigns.[t] The Lateran council of 1179 declared the holding of tithes by laymen to be perilous to the soul, and forbade the transfer of them to other laymen, under penalty of exclusion from Christian burial for any who should receive them and should not make them over to the church;[u] but this canon (whatever its intended meaning may have been) came to be interpreted as forbidding only transfers and fresh alienations of tithe,—the idea of recovering that which was already alienated being apparently given up.[x] Yet in this time many laymen were persuaded to surrender the tithes which they had appropriated, although in

[p] Schmidt, ii. 287 8; Schröckh, xxvii. 130.

[q] Gregor. Decret. III. xxx. 5-7, 22, 26, etc. Giraldus had some amusing dealings with refractory Flemings in South Wales as to payment of tithes. De Rebus a se gestis, i. 24, 28.

[r] See Planck, IV. ii. 360. Aquinas says that in cases where money wrongly gotten does not involve the duty of restitution—"sicut de meretricio et histrionatu"—the persons ought to pay tithe, but the church ought not to receive it until they forsake their sin. Secunda Secundæ, lxxxvii. 2.

[s] Schmidt, ii. 290; Planck, IV. ii. 360. See a letter of Alexander III. against a strange custom of employing an ordeal in order to secure payment of tithe in full. Ep. 878.

[t] See his letter to Hugh, bishop of Die, cited vol. iv. p. 338; Planck, IV. ii. 378.

[u] C. 14.

[x] Schmidt, ii. 289; Planck, IV. ii. 376-8; Gieseler, II. ii. 295.

such cases the tithe was often given to a monastery, or to some clerk other than the rightful owner.[y]

First fruits—a thirtieth or a sixtieth part of the produce—began also now to be claimed.[z]

But while others complained of the wealth of the clergy, the clergy were incessantly crying out against spoliation.[a] The advocates subdivided their power by appointing vice-advocates; and these deputies, with a great train of inferior functionaries attached to them, rivalled their chiefs in oppressing the churches which they professed to defend. The advocates built castles not only on that portion of the church's land which was allotted to themselves, but on any part of its lands; their exactions, both from the church and from its tenants, became heavier and heavier,[b] so that in some cases the tenants were reduced to beggary. Canons were passed to check these evils,[c] but with little effect; and when Urban III. attempted to do away with the office of advocate in Germany, he found that the emperor Frederick, although favourable to a limitation of the power of the advocates,[d] was opposed to the abolition, and that the bishops were not prepared to support it.[e] The evil pressed no less on monasteries than on cathedrals,[f] and various means were tried to overcome it. Some churches or monasteries acquired the right to remove their advocates—a right, however, which could not always be

[y] See p. 62. A council at Avranches, in 1172, allows lay holders of tithes to make them over to any clerk, on condition that they shall afterwards revert to the church to which they properly belong. (c. 9.) Gerhoh is vehement for the quadripartite division. De Ædif. Dei, cc. 8, etc.

[z] Planck, IV. ii. 361.

[a] Schröckh, xxvii. 136.

[b] Planck, IV. ii. 369-72; Gieseler, II. ii. 398. Henry IV. vainly forbade the abuse of deputy-advocates. Ekkeh. A.D. 1099, Patrol. cliv. 963

[c] *E.g.*, Conc. Rem. A.D. 1148, c. 6.

[d] See Pertz, Leges, ii. 141, 164.

[e] Arnold. Lubec. iii. 17 (see above, p. 210).

[f] See the account of the advocates of Altaich, in the diocese of Bamberg, Pertz, xviii. 373-6; Wibald, in Patrol. clxxxix. 1463; the complaint of the monks of Prüm to Henry V., in Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 595. seqq.

readily enforced ;[g] some bought them off,[h] or were able to bring them under a measure of restraint by the help of the sovereign ;[i] while others, in despair of all human aid, instituted solemn daily prayers for deliverance from the tyranny of these oppressive protectors.[k]

Nor were the advocates the only lay officers who preyed severely on the funds of churches and monasteries Great nobles, and even sovereign princes, enrolled themselves among their officials in order to share in their revenues. Thus, at Cologne, the ten gates of the city had for their guardians five dukes and five counts, to each of whom an annual allowance of 2,000 silver marks was paid for his services ;[l] and even the emperor Frederick submitted to become truchsess or seneschal of Bamberg cathedral, as the condition of obtaining certain lands to be held under it.[m]

By these exactions, and by the necessity of maintaining soldiers for their feuds,[n] the bishops were heavily burdened, and were frequently obliged to incur debts to a large amount.[o] They had lost their old control over the division of the church's income, and had now under their management only the lands assigned for their own maintenance ;[p] and these they charged with their debts, to the impoverishment of the see. This practice, however, was forbidden by decrees of Conrad III., of Frederick I., and of Henry VI.[q]

The claims of sovereigns to the *regale* and to the *jus exuviarum* excited much contention. By the first of these was meant the right to enjoy the income of vacant

[g] Planck, IV. ii. 371.

[h] See Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 598. Ib. 550-2, 595.

[k] Planck, IV. ii. 373.

[l] R. Hoveden, 339.

[m] Schröckh, xxvii. 131. Jocelin of Brakelond gives an amusing account of the manner in which abbot Samson, of St Edmund's Bury, dealt with the lay officers who had preyed on the abbey, pp. 18, 20, 48.

[n] Against this, see Gerhoh. de Ædif. Dei, 5-7.

[o] See, *e. g.*, as to Hartwig of Hamburg, Arnold. Lubec. iii. 21.

[p] Planck, IV. ii. 366.

[q] Pertz, Leges, ii. 94-5, 194 ; Planck, IV. ii. 368.

sees—a privilege which in Germany did not extend beyond one year, while in England it seems to have been limited only by the king's will; and both in France and in England, although perhaps not in Germany, to this was annexed the disposal of all patronage belonging to the vacant see.[r] The origin of this custom in France is traced to the circumstance that in the seventh and eighth centuries, when dukes or counts seized on the property of a vacant bishoprick, the king often intervened to rescue it from their hands; and hence arose the idea that the king himself, as chief advocate of the church, was entitled to the custody and the profits of vacant sees.[s] It is, however, uncertain at what time the claim was established in France. However it may have originated, the *regale* was now grounded on the feudal system, by which a vacant fief reverted to the liege lord, until again granted away by him;[t] and monasteries were subject to this exaction during the vacancy of the headship.[u] By the *jus exuviarum* was meant the right to inherit the furniture and other property of deceased bishops. In early times it had been held that a bishop might dispose by will of his inherited property, but that any savings out of his official income belonged to the church. Hence the money which was found in a bishop's coffers, and the furniture of the episcopal house, were usually shared among the clergy of his cathedral, and the successor, on taking possession of his residence, found nothing but bare walls.[x] It is easy to conceive that, in lawless ages, such opportunities of plunder attracted the rapacity of the nobles; and in the tenth century we find the council of Trosley, and Atto, bishop

[r] Planck, IV. ii. 79, 96-7.

[s] Ib. 83-5.

[t] Ib. 86-93; Gieseler, II. ii. 264.

[u] In England it afterwards became usual for the king to grant to the prior and monks of a convent the enjoyment of its revenues during a vacancy, on condition of their paying a certain sum to the crown. See, *e.g.*, the Gesta Abbatum S. Albani (Chron. and Mem.) ii. 32.

[x] Planck, IV. ii. 101.

of Vercelli, complaining that, on a bishop's death, his goods became the prey of his powerful neighbours.[y] In this case, therefore, as in that of the *regale*, the intervention of kings for the prevention of worse evils became the foundation of a claim. In France and Germany this privilege was fully established in the twelfth century,[z] and when Frederick I. defended it against Urban III., even the refractory archbishop Philip of Cologne admitted that the emperor's claim, although unbecoming, was not unjust.[a] In some cases the *jus exuviarum* belonged to the great vassals; and it was mutually exercised by the archbishops of Lyons and the bishops of Autun.[b] In England both the *regale* and the *jus exuviarum* were introduced by William Rufus, who abused his power very scandalously in this respect.[c]

In this age an attempt was made for the first time by the clergy to procure an exemption from taxation for secular purposes, such as contributions towards the national army. Urban II., at the council of Melfi, in 1089, enacted that the laity should not make any exaction from the clergy, either on account of their benefices or of their inherited property; and that any clerk holding a possession under a layman should either provide a deputy to discharge the duties connected with it, or should give it up.[d] The object of this was to render the clergy entirely independent of

[y] Conc. Trosl. A.D. 909, c. 14; Atto de Pressuris Ecclesiasticis, 3 (Patrol. cxxxiv. 87); Planck, IV. ii. 103. In Baluze's Miscellanea, ii. 225, 8vo. ed., is a letter of Ermengaud, count of Urgel, A.D. 1162, renouncing "horribilem illam et male consuetam rapinam," which his predecessors had exercised on the death of a bishop.

[z] See Planck, IV. ii. 105-6, 112-13; Gieseler, II. ii. 264; Herzog, art. *Spolienrecht.*

[a] "Etsi non injuste, indecenter tamen." Arnold. Lubec. iii. 17 See above, pp. 209-10.

[b] Planck, IV. ii. 89.

[c] Eadmer. Hist. Nov. l. 1 (Patrol. clix. 362); Will. Malmesb. Gesta Regum, § 314 (see above, vol. iv. p. 443). Planck seems to be clearly wrong in maintaining, against these ancient authorities, that the *regale* was introduced by William the Conqueror. IV. ii. 90.

[d] Can. 11.

the state, and it was natural that such a scheme should be strenuously opposed, not only by sovereigns, but by nobles, who saw that any burdens which might be thrown off by the clergy must necessarily fall on themselves.[e] The claim to exemption, therefore, could not be maintained; and the third Lateran council contented itself with an anathema against the arbitrary and unequal manner in which the clergy had very commonly been assessed, as compared with other classes, in cases of taxation for public works or for maintenance of soldiers.[f]

But while the popes attempted to exempt the clergy from national and local imposts, they themselves taxed them very heavily, under the pretence of a war against the infidels, or for some other religious purpose, such as the maintenance of a pope in opposition to a rival claimant of the apostolic chair, or to an emperor who withstood his power.[g] The "Saladin's tithe" was at first resisted by the clergy and monks, on the ground that their prayers were their proper and sufficient contribution towards the holy cause; those who fight for the church, said Peter of Blois, ought rather to enrich her with the spoils of her enemies than to rob her.[h] But the popes enforced this tithe, and continued to exact it long after the necessity which gave rise to it had come to an end.[i]

(6.) The moral condition of the clergy in general during the twelfth century is very unfavourably represented, alike by zealous churchmen, such as Gerhoh

[e] Planck, IV. ii. 168-73.

[f] Conc. Lat., A.D. 1179, c. 19. There is indeed a show of making the taxation voluntary, by the provision that it shall not be levied, "nisi episcopus et clerus tantam necessitatem vel utilitatem aspexerint, ut absque ulla coactione (*al.* exactione) ad relevandas communes necessitates, ubi laicorum non suppetunt facultates, subsidia per ecclesias existiment conferenda." See Planck, IV. ii. 188-9, 197-8.

[g] R. de Diceto, 574; Planck, IV. ii. 192-3, 379-81.

[h] Ep. 112 (Patrol. ccvii. 337-8).

[i] See Gibbon, v. 495.

of Reichersperg, by satirists, like Walter von der Vogelweide and the author of "Reynard the Fox,"[k] and by sober observers, such as John of Salisbury.[l] "The insolence of the clergy," says Bernard, "of which the negligence of the bishops is mother, everywhere disturbs and molests the church."[m] Among the causes of their deterioration may be mentioned the constant struggles between the popes and secular princes, the frequent internal troubles of kingdoms (such as the long anarchy of Stephen's reign in England), and the disorders produced by the crusades.[n] Bishops also contributed not a little to the discredit of the clerical body by the growing abuse of ordaining clergy without a title.[o] Gerhoh speaks of many of these *acephali* as being very learned, but regards them as a sort of centaurs—neither clerks nor laymen—enjoying as they did the ecclesiastical privileges without being bound by ecclesiastical duties.[p] But it would seem that the great mass of them were chiefly distinguished, not for their learning, but for their disorderly and disreputable lives. Attempts were made to check the practice of ordination to the higher degrees, at least, without a title;[q] and with this view the third Lateran council enacted that any bishop who should ordain a priest or a deacon without a title should be bound to maintain him until he were provided with a maintenance from some church.[r] But this rule was open to many evasions—some bishops even frustrated it by

[k] See Jac. Grimm, Introduction to 'Reinhart Fuchs,' c. 12 (Berlin, 1834); Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 183.

[l] *E.g.*, Joh. Sar. Polycrat. vii. 18-19. See other quotations and references in Theiner, ii. 390, seqq.; also Schröckh, xxvii. 159; Planck, II. ii. 303; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 185-6; Gieseler, II. ii. 288-91.

[m] Ep. 152.

[n] Planck, IV. ii. 303.

[o] Ib. 313-14. See vol. iv. p. 157.

[p] In Psalm. lxiv. c. 29 (Patr. cxciv.).

[q] *E.g.*, Conc. Abrinc. A.D. 1172, c. 5. This, however, applies only to priestly ordination.

[r] Can. 5 (A.D. 1179). There is a remonstrance by Stephen, bishop of Tournay, against the attempt of a pope, within the last ten years of the century, to extend this rule to the inferior orders. Ep. 194, Patrol. ccxi. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 336.

requiring the candidate for ordination to swear that he would never become chargeable to them—and it proved utterly ineffectual.[s] Nor did any better success attend some attempts to keep the acephalous clerks in check by a revival of the ancient letters of communion.[t]

The encroachments of the popes on the power of the bishops had also a large share in producing the decay of discipline; for now that the popes held themselves entitled to interfere with every diocese, not only by receiving appeals, but by acting as judges in the first instance, the bishops were deterred from exercising discipline by the fear of a mandate from Rome, which might forbid them to judge or might reverse their sentence.[u]

As in earlier times, there are many complaints of lay-patronage;[x] of the employment of stipendiary chaplains, as exercised without the sanction of bishops, and tending to withdraw the clergy from episcopal superintendence;[y] of pluralities,[z] which grew to an enormous extent, so that, while the third Lateran council denounces the practice of accumulating six or more churches on one incumbent,[a] we are told that some clerks had as many as twenty or thirty,[b] and the preferments enjoyed by Becket while as yet only a deacon would seem to have exceeded even this ample measure.[c] But of all pluralists, in England and probably in the whole church, the most rapacious was John Mansel, who served Henry III. in the following century as chaplain, counsellor, judge, and

[s] Schröckh, xxvii. 235; Planck, IV. ii. 342-4.

[t] Ib. 335-6.

[u] Ib. 305-8.

[x] *E.g.*, Conc. Lat. A.D. 1179, cc. 14, 17; Planck, IV. ii. 312. Gerhoh would allow no patronage, except to bishops. De Ædif. Dei, 24.

[y] Conc. Melfitan. A.D. 1089, c. 9; Conc. Turon. A.D. 1163, c. 5; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1131, c. 9; A.D. 1148, c. 10; Planck, IV. ii. 594.

[z] Bernard. Ep. 271; de Hon. et. Officio Episcoporum, 27-9.

[a] Cc. 13, 14. Cf. Alex. III. Ep. 1376; Luc. III. Ep. 92.

[b] Planck, IV. ii. 319.

[c] See his letter to Foliot, Patrol. cxc. 605.

soldier, and is said to have enjoyed benefices to the value of four thousand marks a year.[d]

The promotion of boys to ecclesiastical offices and dignities continued in defiance of all the protests of Bernard[e] and other eminent men,[f] and of frequent prohibitions by popes and councils;[g] some bishops, it is said, not only allowed nobles to thrust boys into spiritual preferments, but themselves made a profit of the abuse by pocketing the income during the incumbent's minority.[h] And, notwithstanding the war which Gregory VII. and his school had so rigorously waged against simony, the practice still continued.[i] As on the one hand the definition of simony became more refined, so that under this name were forbidden not only all payments for spiritual offices, but even fees for the lessons of cathedral and monastic schools,[k] so on the other hand the scholastic subtlety was more and more exercised in devising distinctions by which the condemnations of simony might be evaded.[l] While the popes professed a zeal for the suppression of this offence, they themselves were continually accused of it; some of them, indeed, are said to have so notoriously bought their office that they can be vindicated only by the desperate

[d] M. Paris, 859. That the income was derived from his pluralities, appears from the words "Admirabantur autem cum stupore, qui ea quæ Dei sunt sapiunt, vehementer, hominem tam circumspectum tot animarum curam suscepisse non formidare." In consequence of his adhesion to Henry in his differences with the barons, Mansel's "career is said to have terminated in poverty and wretchedness." Foss, ii. 396.

[e] De Moribus et Offic. Episcoporum, 25-6; Epp. 290, 427 (Patr. clxxxii.). In Ep. 271 he refuses to use his influence in order to get preferment for a boy, a son of count Theobald of Champagne.

[f] Pet. Bles. Ep. 60 (ib. ccvii.).

[g] *E.g.*, Conc. Melfit. A.D. 1089, c. 4; Conc. Lat. A.D. 1179, c. 3; Conc. Abrinc. A.D. 1172, c. 1; Schröckh, xxvii. 231-2.

[h] The only instance given by Thomassin (I. i. 70. 2), however, is that William of Newburgh relates this as to Roger of York. iii. 5 (vol. i. 224).

[i] See quotations and references in Schröckh, xxvii. 180-1; Neand. vii. 250-2.

[k] Conc. Turon. A.D. 1163, c. 4; Conc. Abrinc. A.D. 1172, cc. 3, 7, 8; Conc. Lat. A.D. 1179, cc. 7, 18.

[l] Schröckh, xxvii. 175.

expedient of asserting that the pope cannot be guilty of simony.[m] And nothing could exceed the corruption of the Roman *curia*, which, in order that it might be equal to dealing with the increase of business that was referred to the pope, was newly organized with a staff of ravenous officials. The schemes of Gregory for delivering the church from secular influence had resulted in the secularization of the church itself.[n]

The worldly occupations, amusements, and habits of the bishops and higher clergy were the subject of frequent complaint.[o] The German prelates in particular were so much involved in secular business—leading, for the most part, the lives of great nobles rather than of clergymen—that Cæsarius of Heisterbach reports a clerk of Paris as having on this account questioned their salvability.[p] In particular, the warlike propensities of bishops would seem to have become more active than ever;[q] for now that the wars against the infidels had consecrated their military service in some cases, the justification of episcopal fighting was not unnaturally extended to other wars. The chroniclers describe with a mixture of admiration and reprobation the exploits of such prelates as Christian of Mentz, who appeared in full armour at the head of armies, and, after having in one battle slain nine men with his spiked club, arrayed himself on the following day in pontificals, and solemnly celebrated a mass of thanksgiving for the victory.[r] Reginald and Philip of

[m] Schröckh, xxvii. 181. See Launoy's 'Romanæ Ecclesiæ circa Simoniam Traditio' (Opera, xvii.), pp. 285-300, where he shows that the best authorities supposed the pope capable of simony.

[n] Schröckh, xxvii. 158-9; see Gieseler, II. ii. 248-9; Neand. vii. 270-2.

[o] *E.g.*, Bernard. de Moribus et Off. Episcopor. (Patr. clxxxii. 815); Ep. 78; Pet. Bles. Ep. 84; R. de Diceto, 651.

[p] De Miraculis, ii. 18. Cf. Gerhoh, in Psalm. lxiv. 61, seqq.; De Ædif. Dei, 26 (Patrol. cxciv.); Schröckh, xxvii. 135-7; Neand. vii. 296.

[q] Schröckh gives many quotations against the warlike habits of bishops and clergy, xxvii. 170, seqq.

[r] Albert. Stad. A.D. 1172, in Pertz, xvi. 347. See a remarkable description of Christian in the same volume, p. 221 (Annales Stederburgenses).

Cologne,[s] Absalom of Lund,[t] and many other bishops, are celebrated for their warlike deeds. Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, attracted the admiration of the lion-hearted Richard himself by his prowess as a crusader,[u] and after his return found exercise for his military talents in the feuds of his own country. And the story is well-known how Richard, having taken prisoner Philip, count-bishop of Beauvais, met the pope's interference in behalf of the warlike prelate by sending to him Philip's coat of mail, with the scriptural quotation — "Know now whether it be thy son's coat or no."[x]

[s] For Philip see the Erfurt Annals, b. 24. [t] See p. 277.

[u] Gervas. 1679.

[x] This is the version told by Matth. Paris, who adds that the pope answered, "This is no son of mine, nor son of peace; let him be ransomed at the king's pleasure, since he is not a soldier of Christ, but of Mars." (App. to Rog. Wendover, ed. Coxe, v. 138.) According to others, the pope reproved the bishop severely, and refused to interfere (see Pauli, iii. 271-2; R. de Diceto, 700). Jaffé regards the alleged letter of Celestine to the bishop (Hoveden, 438) as spurious. Philip was son of Robert of Dreux, brother of Lewis VII. (R. de Diceto, 700; Hoved. 456, *b*). He had been conspicuous in the crusade, had officiated at Conrad of Montferrat's third marriage, in defiance of Baldwin of Canterbury's threat of excommunication (Vinisauf, i. 29, 63), and had since made himself especially obnoxious to Richard, by dealing with the emperor for the aggravation of his imprisonment (Will. Neubr. v. 31). In consequence of having attempted to escape from prison by seizing the ring of a church-door, and crying out, "Pacem peto Dei et ecclesiæ," he was removed from his original place of confinement to Chinon for stricter custody (Hoved. 442); and all that Hubert of Canterbury could obtain for him, by much entreaty, was a lightening of his chains (R. de Diceto, 700). Richard rejected a ransom of 10,000 silver marks which Philip offered; but after the king's death a legate interdicted Normandy on account of the detention of the bishop; and after a confinement of two years, he was released on paying 2,000 marks to John, "pro expensis in ipso et per ipsum factis," and swearing to the legate that he would never again bear arms against Christians (Hoved. 449, 452). In 1202 an attempt was made to promote him to the archbishoprick of Reims; but the "postulation" was on appeal rejected by Pope Innocent (Ep. vi. 200; cf. Anon. Laudun. in Bouq. xviii. 712). In 1210, and again in 1215, Philip took part in the war against the Albigenses (Pet. Sarn. 41, 82), which, as having the character of a crusade, was not against his oath; but we also find him at war with the count of Boulogne (Bouq. xvii. 86), and in 1214 distinguishing himself at the great battle of Bouvines, where he struck down William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, with his club, and took him prisoner,—

"utque tenebat
Clavam *forte* manu, sic illum, dissimulato
Præsule, percussit in summo vertice . . . . .

(7.) Of all matters relating to the life and morals of the clergy, the question of marriage or celibacy continued to be the chief occasion of complaint and difficulty. The successors of Gregory VII., in endeavouring to carry on his policy in this respect, met with a long and obstinate resistance in many quarters, and as to some points they found themselves obliged to make concessions. Thus, whereas Gregory had forbidden the faithful to receive the eucharist at the hands of a married priest,[y] Paschal II., on being asked by Anselm of Canterbury whether a person in danger of death might receive from such a priest, replied that it was better to do so than to die without the viaticum; and he added that if a married priest, on being applied to in such circumstances, should refuse his ministry, on the ground of its having been formerly despised, he would be guilty of soul-murder.[z] In like manner, when the knights of the order of St. James asked Lucius III. whether they might frequent the churches of married priests, and how they should reconcile the command against attending the mass of such priests with the principle that the sin of the minister does not pollute the ordinances which he administers, the pope replied by distinguishing between notorious sins and those which are hidden or tolerated—telling them that, so long as the church bears with a priest, they might rightly receive the sacraments and other rites from him.[a]

With regard to the sons of priests, too, it was found necessary to deal more gently than the zealots for

Sic plerosque alios clava sternebat eadem,
Militibus super hoc titulum palmamque resignans,
Accusaretur operam ne forte sacerdos
Gessisse illicitam, cui nunquam talibus interesse licet, ne cæde manus oculosque profanet.
Non tamen est vetitum defendere seque suosque,
Dum non excedat positos defensio fines."
—*Will. Armor., Philippis*, xi. 543, seqq. (Bouq. xvii.).

Philip died in 1217 (Art de Vérif. les Dates, xi. 463). Another bishop of Beauvais figures as a papal general in South Italy, A.D. 1231. Ric. Sangerm. in Murat. vii. 1027.

[y] See vol. iv. p. 301.

[z] "Tanquam animarum homicidæ districtius puniantur." Ep. 64 (Patrol. clxiii.).

[a] Patrol. cci. 1377.

clerical celibacy would have wished.[b] There was, indeed, a steady endeavour to prevent the transmission of benefices from father to son : and with this view it was sometimes enacted that the sons of priests should not be ordained, unless they became either monks or regular canons ;[c] sometimes, that they should not hold the same benefice which their fathers had held, or, at least, that they should not immediately succeed them.[d] But even these prohibitions allow the ordination of the sons of priests under certain restrictions ; and even such a pope as Alexander III. was always ready to deal tenderly with such cases.[e] In 1161 Richard Peche, the son of a bishop of Coventry, was appointed to succeed his father in the see ; and the chronicler Ralph de Diceto, in relating the fact, takes occasion to cite the opinion of Ivo of Chartres, that the sons of priests, if their own life be respectable, are not to be excluded from any ecclesiastical office, even up to the papacy itself.[f]

Notwithstanding the many prohibitions of marriage to persons in the higher orders of the ministry, the decree of the first Lateran council, in 1123, is said to have been the first that dissolved such marriages.[g] In the following year, John of Crema, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, held a council at Westminster, where he severely denounced the marriage of the clergy, and a canon was enacted against it ; but it is said that on the evening of the same day the cardinal was detected in company with a prostitute, and that he was obliged to leave England in

[b] Theiner, ii. 326-7, 334.

[c] Conc. Namnet. A.D. 1127 (Hard. VI. ii. 1128) ; Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1139, c. 21.

[d] Conc. Namnet. l. c. ; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1131, c. 15 ; Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1139, c. 16 ; Conc. Abrinc. A.D. 1172, c. 2 ; Innocent II. Ep. 51 (Patrol. clxxix.); Lucius II. Ep. 94 (ib.); Alex. III. ap. Baluz. Miscell. iii. 374-9.

[e] *E.g.*, Epp. 886, 1134 (Patrol. cc.); Alex. ap. Foliot, ed. Giles, Epp. 346, 361-2, 368 ; ap. Gregor. IX., Decret. l. I. tit. 20, c. 2.

[f] P. 529. Cf. Ivon. Carnot. 'Panormia,' iii. 52-3 (Patrol. clxi.).

[g] C. 21 ; Gieseler, II. ii. 283. Cf. Conc. Lat. II., A.D. 1139, cc. 6-7.

disgrace.[h] In 1127 Archbishop William of Canterbury sent forth some strong prohibitions of marriage;[i] but the practice still maintained a struggle in England. In 1129 Henry I., reverting to an expedient for raising money which he had attempted in the primacy of Anselm,[k] imprisoned the housekeepers[l] (who were supposed to be also the wives or concubines) of many of the London clergy, whom he compelled to pay heavily for their liberation;[m] and it appears that, both in England and elsewhere, even bishops licensed the cohabitation of the clergy with their wives on condition of an annual payment.[n] The continued marriage of the English clergy is mentioned in many letters of Alexander III.;[o] and among

[h] For the council see Symeon Dunelm. in Twysden, 253, or Wilkins, i. 408. The story of the cardinal's delinquency is told by Henry of Huntingdon (l. vii., Patrol. cxcv. 950); by Rog. Hoveden (274); John of Peterborough (A.D. 1125, in Sparke); Rog. Wendover (ii. 205), and others (see Theiner, ii. 315). Henry of Huntingdon says, "Quod si alicui Romano vel prælato displicuerit, taceat tamen, ne Joannem Cremensem sequi velle videatur." Baronius, however, is very angry (1125. 12), and Lingard denies the truth of the story, as having no other contemporary witness than Henry of Huntingdon (ii. 46). The Winchester Annals (in Wharton, i. 298) say nothing of John's misconduct in London, but tell an improbable story as to an affair with a niece of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham. Inett (ii. 159) argues that John must have been a person of bad character, because St. Bernard (Ep. 163) congratulates him on his "pœnitentiam et conversionem"; but this may rather refer to his having left the antipope's party (Ciacon. i. 919). Foliot speaks of him in terms which seem inconsistent with Huntingdon's story, but which are still more opposed to the unanimous testimony of historians as to his pride, assumption, and rapacity in the character of legate (Ep. 194, Patrol. cxc. 902). According to Matthew of Westminster (A.D. 1125) he had the effrontery to excuse his misbehaviour by saying that he was "not a priest, but a corrector of priests." But, as Chacon observes, St. Chrysogonus is the title of a cardinal-priest (l. c.); and moreover, Henry of Huntingdon says that on the very day of his detection he had consecrated the eucharist.

[i] Cc. 5-7. [k] Vol. iv. p. 466.

[l] "Focariæ," from *focus*, a fire.

[m] Chron. Sax., A.D. 1129; R. de Diceto, 506; Fuller, i. 304.

[n] Rupert. Tuit. in Apocal. c. 2 (Patrol. clxix. 879, A); Planck, IV. ii. 331; Gieseler, II. ii. 286. Theiner, however, is misled by a misreading of "*m*atrimonia" for "*p*atrimonia," when he quotes John of Poitiers (Patrol. cxc. 1023, D) as evidence that in Becket's primacy the marriage of clergy was licensed for a payment in England. ii. 383.

[o] See Theiner, ii. 373-6, 378-9. In the 'Rotuli Curiæ Regis,' published by the Record Commission, is a case, A.D. 1194, by which it appears that

other evidence of it may be mentioned that of Giraldus Cambrensis, who states that among the parish priests of England the keeping of *focariæ* was almost universal,[p] and that the canons of St. David's—especially such of them as were Welchmen—were notorious for their irregularities in this respect, filling the precincts of their cathedral with concubines, midwives, children, and nurses, connecting their families with each other by intermarriage, and transmitting their benefices by inheritance.[q] He tells us also that the like customs prevailed among the kindred people of Brittany.[r]

In Normandy we are told that in the beginning of the twelfth century the priests celebrated their marriages publicly, that they left their benefices to their sons, and sometimes provided in a like manner for the portioning of their daughters.[s] Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, in endeavouring to enforce on his province the prohibitions of marriage enacted by the council of Reims in 1119, was violently assaulted, as his predecessor John had been for a similar attempt in the pontificate of Gregory,[t] and his life was in danger in a serious tumult which ensued.[u]

In Spain, where the marriage of the clergy had been tolerated before the submission of the church to Rome, the legitimacy of their children was sanctioned by

the living of Dunston in Norfolk had until then descended from father to son. i. 37-8, and Sir F. Palgrave's Preface, 28-31; Hallam, Supplem. Notes, 193

[p] "More sacerdotum parochialium Angliæ fere cunctorum, damnabili quidem et detestabili, publicam secum habebat comitem individuam, et in foco focariam et in cubiculo concubinam." Spec. Eccl., in Works, iv. 170.

[q] Girald. ed. Brewer, ii. 228. He mentions a bishop of St. David's as having bargained with those who elected him, that this state of things should continue. (iv. 151.) Henry II., in complaining of the usurpations of the monks and clergy, said, "Tolerabile malum videretur, si singuli suas mulierculas observarent, et saltem thorum non invaderent alienum, nec aliis filios generarent." Gervas. Dorob. 1595.

[r] Ap. Wharton, ii. 450.

[s] Gaufrid. Vita Bernardi Tiron. 51 (Patrol. clxxiii.). An argument by an "Anonymus Rothomagensis," in favour of clerical marriage, is printed in Bp. Hall's works, ix. 292, seqq., ed. P. Hall, and in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' ii. 166.

[t] See vol. iv. p. 303.

[u] Order. Vital. xii. 13.

Paschal II.[x] Didacus (Diego), archbishop of Compostella, endeavoured to enforce the new regulations, but in this and in his other attempts at discipline he met with obstinate resistance.[y]

In Germany, the last place which retained clerical marriage was Liege, where, as we have seen,[z] the practice had been defended by the pen of Sigebert of Gemblours. Even so late as 1220 the canons celebrated their nuptials "like laymen," and are said to have paraded their wives in a strange and hardly credible manner.[a]

In Bohemia the first attempt to separate clergymen from their wives was made by a legate in 1143;[b] but the separation was not effected until the time of Innocent III. or later.[c] In Hungary, which was affected by the neighbourhood of the Greek church, a council of spiritual and temporal dignitaries in 1092 forbade the second marriage of priests,—a prohibition which implies that a single marriage was regarded as lawful; and on this footing the matter rested in that country until after the middle of the thirteenth century.[d] The imperfectly organised church of Poland was for a long time untouched by Gregory's reforms; the clergy married into the families of the nobles, and even till the thirteenth century their benefices were often hereditary.[e] The earliest attempt to enforce celibacy in Denmark was made in 1123, but was ineffectual.[f] Even the influence of Breakspear, as legate, was unable to establish the system in the northern kingdoms. Eskil of Lund, and other eminent bishops,

[x] Ep. 57 (Patrol. clxiii.).

[y] Hist. Compostell. iii. 46, seqq. (Patrol. clxx.). See Theiner, ii. 347.

[z] Vol. iv. p. 302.

[a] Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leod. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 1085; Gesta Pontif. Leod. in Bouq. xiii. 615-16; Theiner, ii. 351-2.

[b] Cosm. Prag. Contin., Patrol. clxvi. 242.

[c] Theiner, ii. 572-3.

[d] Schröckh, xxvii. 189-90, 202-3; Planck, IV. ii. 325; Gieseler, II. ii. 285. See as to a somewhat later council, Theiner, ii. 545.

[e] Roepell, i. 337; Gieseler, II. ii. 285.

[f] Dahlmann, i. 238; Münter, ii. 1033.

were themselves married.[g] The apprehension of evils which might arise from the compulsory celibacy of the clergy was, as we have seen,[h] among the causes which produced a formidable outbreak in the end of the century. It appears from a letter of Innocent III.[i] that the Swedish clergy professed to have a papal sanction for their marriage; and the practice continued into the thirteenth century.[k] In the remote island of Iceland the license for marriage or concubinage of the clergy took a peculiar form—a payment to the bishop on the birth of every child.[l]

While the legislation of the church was steady in the direction of suppressing the marriage of the clergy, it is remarkable that some of the most eminent writers were very moderate in their opinions on the subject.[m] Thus Gratian, although he takes the view which the church had sanctioned in his time, yet allows the greater freedom of earlier ages to be fully represented in his digest of the ecclesiastical laws.[n] Peter Comestor, a famous professor of Paris, is said by his pupil Giraldus Cambrensis to have publicly taught that the devil had never so much circumvented the church as in enforcing the

[g] Münter, ii. 1033-7.

[h] P. 277. [i] xvi. 118.

[k] See Gieseler, II. ii. 285; Münter, ii. 1037; Theiner, ii. 504, seqq.

[l] Schröckh, xxvii. 199; Theiner, ii. 527.

[m] Schröckh's quotations from St. Bernard (xxvii. 201) do not, however, seem to warrant us in reckoning him among these. In one place, Bernard only says that it would be better to keep out of the clerical order than to disgrace it by unchastity (De Conversione, 20); in another (which has often been quoted by writers against the enforced celibacy of the clergy) he uses arguments against the catharist prohibition of marriage in general, which would equally apply to the Hildebrandine prohibition of clerical marriage (Serm. 66 in Cantica c. 3); but it does not follow that he would have admitted this application. Much the same may be said as to two others of Schröckh's witnesses, Rupert of Deutz (in Apocal. ii., Patrol. clxix. 868-9) and Bonaventura (in IV. Sentent. xxxvii. art. 1. qu. 3). Their language shows the weakness of the cause; but they were among the defenders of that cause.

[n] Dist. xxvi.-xxvii., lvi.; Causa xxvii. etc. In Causa xxvii. qu. 1. c. 40, after quoting the Lateran canon of 1139 for the separation of the married, he goes on to cite St. Augustine for the opposite view. See Lea, 330

vow of celibacy; that, although no authority less than that of a general council could set the clergy free in this matter, there is nothing in Scripture to forbid marriage; and that Alexander III. would have rescinded the law but for the opposition of his secretary, who afterwards became pope under the name of Gregory VIII.[o] And while, in the following century, Thomas of Aquino declares the celibacy of the secular clergy to be merely of human institution,[p] and differs from the zealots of celibacy in regarding secret marriage as less culpable than unchastity,[q] the younger Durandus of Mende frankly owns the futility of all repressive measures, and suggests that it might be expedient to return to the practice of the early church, as it was still maintained among the orientals.[r]

(8.) Among the clergy who were charged with irregularity of life, none were more conspicuous than the canons of cathedrals;[s] and the rise of this class in dignity and importance made their ill example the more mischievous. Ever since the ninth century, canons had endeavoured to get into their own hands the independent management of their property; and in this they had generally been successful.[t] The common table and dormitory, which had been parts of the original institution, had fallen into disuse, so that, if the canons ate together on any occasion, it was not in order to fulfil their rule, but to enjoy the extraordinary cheer of a festival.[u] The canons had become

[o] Girald. Gemma Ecclesiæ, ii. 6.

[p] Summa Theol., Sec. Secundæ, qu. 88, art. 11 (t. iii. 683-4, ed. Migne).

[q] Quoted by Flacius Illyricus, Catal. Testium, 1639, ed. 1608. I have been unable (as seems also to have been the case with Theiner, ii. 591, and Gieseler, II. ii. 286) to verify the passage in the 'Summa' by Flacius' reference.

[r] 'De modo celebrandi Concilii Generalis' (A.D. 1311), p. ii. tit. 46 (Paris, 1671). Gieseler remarks the tone of disapproval which runs through the accounts given by H. Huntingdon, M. Paris, and T. Walsingham, of the measures for enforcing celibacy. II. ii. 284.

[s] See Theiner, ii. 368; Neand. vii. 285.

[t] Planck, IV. ii. 568. See vol. iv. p. 155.

[u] Schröckh, xxvii. 229. The bill of

proud, luxurious, ostentatious in affecting the fashions of the world as to dress and habits, and utterly neglectful of their ecclesiastical duties, which were in part devolved on hired substitutes.[x] Preferment of this kind was coveted by noble, and even princely, families, as a stepping-stone for their members towards higher dignities, and as affording a comfortable income in the meantime. Not only was illegitimate or servile birth regarded as a disqualification,[y] but in many cases it was required that the canons should be noble by descent on one side, at least, if not (as at Strasburg) on both. Any who without this qualification were appointed by papal provisions, were regarded with contempt by the rest; and sometimes a chapter ventured to withstand even the authority of a pope in defence of its exclusive restrictions.[z] In some cases canonries became hereditary in families.[a]

The canons were no longer content to be styled *brethren*, but were now addressed as *domini*.[b] The elder among them depressed the younger, whom they treated as an inferior class—curtailing their share of the revenues, and in some cases even exacting homage from them.[c] Now that they had got the election of bishops into their hands, the canons made terms beforehand with the future bishop, and, in addition to much individual

fare on All Saints' Day, 1270, for the canons of Bamberg, in Schmidt, iii. 268-9, however, looks poor beside Giraldus' description of the dinner which he enjoyed with the monks of Canterbury Cathedral on Trinity Sunday a century earlier. (De Rebus a se Gestis, ii. 5.) Prof. Brewer wrongly supposes St. Augustine's to have been the scene of this banquet. Pref. to Girald IV. xiv.

[x] Bern. Ep. ii. 11; Gerhoh, in Ps. 64, sect. 35 (who says that nuns justified their own irregularities by alleging those of the canons); Schröckh, xxvii. 225; Neand. vii. 285-6. Planck, IV. ii. 469. See the article *Gerhoch*, in Herzog.

[y] Alex. III. (Ep. 1366) approves of this rule for St. Martin's at Tours.

[z] Ivo, Ep. 126 (Patrol. clxii.); Schröckh, xxvii. 228-9; Schmidt, iii. 265-6; Raumer, vi. 25-6. Nobility seems to have been then understood rather in the modern English sense than in the wider sense of modern Germany. Schmidt, iii. 265.

[a] Hildebert. Ep. ii. 29 (Patrol. 171).

[b] Schröckh, xxvii. 226.

[c] Paschal II. Ep. 149 (Patrol. clxiii.). Planck, IV. ii. 572.

jobbery, they very commonly extorted from him the right of appointing to places in their own chapter and to other offices in the church.[d] They affected great independence of the bishops; they attended councils; they claimed all the administration of dioceses, and even of provinces, during the vacancy of sees; and in all their assumptions they were generally supported by their powerful family connections.[e]

The difficulties occasioned by the degeneracy of the canons are the subject of continual papal letters.[f] Many attempts were made to recal them to the practice of living in common and to their other ecclesiastical duties;[g] while some bishops and princes, regarding such attempts as hopeless, ejected the secular canons, and planted in their stead either monks, or canons of the class which was styled regular,[h] and which was distinguished from the seculars chiefly by the renunciation of all individual property.[i] In Germany the seculars had such strength that the only course for reforming bishops was to leave them in possession, and to found new societies of canons on a more rigid footing.[k]

II. *Monasticism—Religious Associations.*

(1.) The twelfth century saw the rise of several new

[d] Schröckh, xxvii. 229; Planck, IV. ii. 577.

[e] Schröckh, l. c.; Planck. 575-6; Bernard. Epp. 164-72, as to the canons of Lyons taking part in the election of a bishop for Langres; Calixt. II. Ep. 262 (Patrol. clxvi.).

[f] *E.g.*, Alex. III. Epp. 469, 470, 559, 579, 591, 688-9, 911, 921, 925, 1074, 1148, 1284, 1289, 1318, 1337, 1348, 1350, 1389, 1502, etc.

[g] *E.g.*, Adrian. IV. Ep. 179 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Ep. 17 ad Eugen. III. ib. clxxx.); Schröckh, xxvii. 224-5. See the remonstrance of Stephen, abbot of Ste. Geneviève at Paris (afterwards bishop of Tournay) against a threatened relaxation of the canonical life at Reims. Ep. 141 (Patrol. ccxi.).

[h] *E.g.*, Chron. Anon. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 679.

[i] See above, p. 50; Order. Vital. xiii. 3 (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Schröckh, xxvii. 224-6; Gieseler, II. ii. 281-2. Gerhoh speaks of the rule drawn up for canons under Lewis the Pious (see vol. iii. p. 215) as a worldly and courtly rule, and expresses a hope to see them all supplanted by regulars (Patrol. cxciv. 20-2, 82, 94, 1382).

[k] Planck, IV. ii. 570.

orders, in addition to those which have been already described. Among them was that of the Carmelites, founded by Berthold, a native of Calabria, who about the year 1180 settled on Mount Carmel—a place to which, from the fourth century downwards, many recluses had been drawn by its connexion with the prophet Elijah.[1] But in later times the Carmelites, disdaining to acknowledge Berthold as their founder, professed to trace themselves up to Elijah himself through a line which included the Rechabites and some of the Old Testament prophets; and whereas their oldest rule was really given by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1209,[m] they pretended to reckon among their legislators St. Basil, in the fourth century, and John of Jerusalem, the contemporary of St. Jerome.[n] These pretensions led, in the seventeenth century, to a fierce controversy between the Carmelites—chiefly those of Flanders—and the Bollandist hagiologists, who maintained the truth of history; and the war was carried on not only in learned dissertations, but in satirical pamphlets.[o] Innocent XII., in 1698, in accordance with a decision of the Congregation of the Index, attempted to allay the quarrel by imposing silence on both parties under pain of excommunication;[p] but Benedict XIII. afterwards countenanced the pretensions of the Carmelites by allowing a statue of Elijah to be erected

[1] Anon. Carthus. de Religionum Origine, c. 28, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi.; Jac. Vitriac. p. 1075; Fuller, 'Holy War,' 76; Schröckh, xxvii. 370, 374; Gieseler, II. ii. 301. See as to a book on the Carmelites, Smith, Dict. of Biogr. ii. 597, col. 2.

[m] Acta SS. Mai. t. III. p. lx.; Alb. Butler, April 8; Mosh. ii. 462; Schröckh, xxvii. 375. It is in Holstenius, ed. Brockie, iii. 19-20.

[n] Schröckh, x. 111; xxvii. 375, 385; Holst. ed. Brockie, iii. 18. They also claimed Cyril of Alexandria as a member of their order. Acta SS. Jun. 27, p. 460.

[o] Papebroch and Janning, the editors of the 'Acta Sanctorum' for April, May, and June, were the chief opponents of the Carmelites. See Schröckh, xxvii. 369-72; Pitra, Études sur les Bollandistes, 94, seqq.

[p] Helyot, i. 282, 295-9; Mosh. ii. 462; Petra, 98. Helyot, while affecting to defer to the pope's order, shows that his conviction is against the Carmelites. i. 299-300.

in St. Peter's among those of the great founders of monachism.[q]

On the expulsion of the Latins from the Holy Land, the Carmelites, who professed to have been warned by the Blessed Virgin to quit their mountain, acquired settlements in Europe,[r] and it is said (although perhaps with exaggeration), that at one time they possessed 7,500 monasteries, with upwards of 180,000 members.[s] The original rule of the order was very rigid; but on leaving Carmel they petitioned Innocent IV. for a mitigation of it, on the ground that they were no longer hermits. The pope, accordingly, relaxed it in some respects in 1247; and in the fifteenth century further relaxations were granted. In consequence of this, the order was divided into two branches — the stricter being styled *barefooted* or *observants*, while those who adopted the milder rule were known as *shod* or *conventuals*.[t]

Another order of this time (which has already been mentioned on account of the confusion which its name has sometimes produced beween it and the Waldensian sectaries) was that of the Humiliati, which seems to have been confined to Lombardy. The origin of this order is traced to some Milanese who were carried off into Germany by an emperor,[u] but were afterwards allowed to return to Milan. In their exile they adopted a strict manner of life, and supported themselves by cloth-weaving; and this occupation was afterwards continued among them—their skill in the art being famous,

[q] Schröckh, xxvii. 373. The annalist of Oseney notes in 1287 that the Carmelites, "ut credi poterit, voluntariæ voluntatis instinctu," substituted "capas clausas candidas" for their cloaks of various colours. P. 312, ed. Luard (Chron. and Mem.).

[r] Their first settlement in the west was in 1238, and their final removal was after the loss of Acre, in 1298. Acta SS. Mai. t. III., pp. lxi., lxiii.

[s] Schröckh, xxvii. 378. [t] Ib. 376.

[u] Tiraboschi, who has written a history of the order in 3 vols. 4to, supposes this to have happened under Henry II. in 1014 (i. 19). The Bollandists and others refer it to the time of Henry III. (Acta SS. Sept. 26, p. 326), while Helyot dates it in 1117, under Henry V.

and much of their cloth being given to the poor.[x] To the secular men and women of whom the society at first consisted was afterwards added an order of monks and nuns; and about 1140 a priest named John of Meda completed the organization by the addition of an order of priests.[y] The institution was confirmed by Innocent III., who in 1201 provided it with a rule mainly derived from that of St. Benedict,[z] and its members were distinguished for their charitable labours. In the course of centuries, however, the Humiliati showed the usual degeneracy. An attempt of St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, to reform them provoked a violent uproar, so that his life was even in danger; and in consequence of this the order was abolished by Pius V. in 1571.[a]

Among the other orders of the twelfth century may be named that of Fiore, which has been already mentioned in connexion with its founder, Joachim;[b] and the English order of Sempringham, founded by Gilbert, after whom the members—male and female—were commonly called Gilbertines.[c]

(2.) The new orders, being founded in a spirit of reaction from the laxity of those which before existed, were likely to excite the rivalry of their elders; and this rivalry was especially shown in France between the Cistercians and the Cluniacs. The contrast between the black dress of Cluny and the white dress of Cîteaux was enough to proclaim at sight the difference of the orders; and, while the Cistercians were not slow to tax the Cluniacs with degeneracy, these retorted by charges

[x] Tirab. i. 26; ii. 157, 164.

[y] Ib. i. 28, 56, 67; ii. 57; Schröckh, xxvii. 517.

[z] Ib. 517.

[a] Acta SS. l.c. 327-8, 334; Ranke's Hist. of the Popes, transl. by Mrs. Austin, ed. 2, i. 375-8.

[b] P. 340.

[c] The date is variously given as 1131 and 1148. See W. Neubrig. i. 16; Gir. Cambr. iv. 184; Holst. ed. Brockie, t. ii.; Monast. Angl. VI., pt. ii.; Helyot, ii. 88; Acta SS. Feb. 4, pp. 572, seqq.

of vanity and presumption against the younger society.[d] Hence, about the year 1125, a discussion took place between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable of Cluny—each the chief ornament of his order, each respecting the other,[e] and both free from the more vulgar feelings by which many of their partisans were animated.[f] Bernard wrote his 'Apology' at the suggestion of William, abbot of St. Thierry, a Cluniac, with a view of satisfying those who complained of the Cistercians as detractors.[g] In the outset, he is very severe on such of his own brethren as had indulged in censures on the alleged laxity of the Cluniacs. As men differ in character, he says, so a corresponding difference of usages may be lawful;[h] pride and censoriousness are evidences of a want of charity far worse than the slight indulgences which it attacks.[i] He professes a high regard for the order of Cluny, and says that he had always dissuaded those who wished to forsake it for the Cistercian order.[k] But from this Bernard goes on to blame the Cluniacs for

[d] Exord. Cisterc. in Patrol. clxxxv. 1005-7; Herbert. de Miraculis, ib. 1322. See the curious metrical dialogue, 'De Clarævallensibus et Cluniacensibus,' in Mapes, ed. Wright, 237-42; and another Dialogue, in Martene, Thes. v.

[e] See, *e. g.*, Bern., Epp. 264-5, 387-9.

[f] See Mabill. Annal. vi. 74-6; Radulf. Niger, ed. Anstruther, 96.

[g] Præfat. (Patrol. clxxxii. 897). Bernard had kept out of the see of Langres a Cluniac monk, against whom he had (wrongly, as Peter affirms), taken up reports. Bern. Epp. 164-8; Pet. Ep. i. 29; Morison, b. ii. c. 4. William of St. Thierry afterwards became a Cistercian. See p. 116.

[h] Apol. 6; cf. De Gradibus Superbiæ, 42; in Cantica, Serm. xxxiii. 10.

[i] "Repleti ventrem faba, mentem superbia, cibis damnamus saginatos." Apol. 12; cf. 1-2, 10-11; De Præcepto et Dispens. 16.

[k] Apol. 4. When, however, one of his own nephews had left the Cistercians for the Cluniacs, Bernard rebuked him as having fled from strictness to luxury (Ep. 1); and in another case, where an abbot had complained of the admission of one of his monks at Clairvaux, Bernard showed much of the superciliousness and evasiveness to which popular religious leaders are too commonly prone (Epp. 67-8; cf. Ep. 395). There were instances in which whole monasteries passed over from the older to the newer order. (Girald. Cambr. Spec. Eccl. in Works, iv. 114; Introd. xxi.) At a later time, the Cistercians made agreements with other orders—as the Carmelites—not to receive accessions from them. *E. g.*, Statut. A.D. 1274, Mart. Thes. iv. 1441.

their disobedience to the rule of St. Benedict. While admitting the lawfulness of dispensations, he holds that the secular manner of life which prevails in some monasteries is such as no dispensation can warrant.[l] Many of the monks, though young and vigorous, pretend sickness, that they may be allowed to eat flesh ; and those who abstain from flesh indulge their palate without limit by exquisite varieties of cookery,[m] while, in order to provoke the appetite, they drink largely of the strongest and most fragrant wines, which are often rendered yet more stimulant by spices.[n] At table, instead of grave silence, light worldly gossip, jests, and idle laughter prevail.[o] The Cluniacs have coverlets of fur or other rich and variegated materials for their beds; they dress themselves in the costliest furs, in silk, and in cloth fine enough for royal robes ;[p] and a ludicrous picture is drawn of a Cluniac choosing the stuff for his cowl with feminine care and fastidiousness.[q] This excessive care for the body, says Bernard, is a consequence of the neglect of mental culture.[r] But even more than for their personal luxury, he taxes the Cluniacs for the excessive splendour of their worship, and for the unsuitable magnificence of their buildings. The walls of their churches are adorned, while the poor are left in nakedness ; the pictures distract the mind, instead of raising it to devotion; and the monstrous and grotesque

[l] Apol. 16.

[m] *E. g.*, "Quis enim dicere sufficit, quot modis (ut cætera taceam) sola ova versantur et vexantur, quanto studio evertuntur, subvertuntur, liquantur, durantur, diminuuntur; et nunc quidem frixa, nunc assa, nunc farsa, nunc mixtim, nunc sigillatim apponuntur?" (20.) The general chapter of Citeaux, in 1152, orders, "Qui in domibus nigrorum monachorum scienter sagimen comederint, septem sextis feriis in pane et aqua jejunabunt" (c. 9, in Martene, Thes. iv. 1245). Cf. Capit. Gen., A.D. 1180, c. 4, ib. 1252.

[n] "Pigmenta," 21.

[o] Bern. Apol. 19.

[p] Ib. 24.

[q] "Cucullam empturus, lustras urbes, fora circuis, percurris nundinas, domos scrutaris negotiatorum, cunctam evertis singulorum supellectilem, ingentes explicas cumulos pannorum, attrectas digitis, admoves oculis, solis apponis radio; quicquid grossum, quicquid pallidum occurrerit, respuis ; si quid autem sui puritate ac nitore placuerit, illud mox quantolibet pretio satagis tibi retinere." 26.

[r] Ib. 27.

carvings which abound are altogether unfit for a religious house. The chandeliers and tree-like candlesticks are of vast labour and cost, and are set with jewels; the pavements are inlaid with figures of saints and angels, which in such a position cannot escape irreverent usage; the sight of the golden shrines in which the relics are encased fattens the eyes and unlooses the purse-strings of beholders. Such things, he says, might be allowable in churches intended for lay worshippers, whose carnal minds may need them; but for monks, who have renounced the delights of the senses, they are incongruous and unseemly.[s] Bernard also blames the Cluniacs for their exemption from episcopal authority, and for impropriating the tithes of parish-churches; and he denounces the pomp of many abbots, who, on going barely four leagues from home, took with them baggage enough for a campaign, or for a journey through the desert —especially of one whom he had seen travelling with sixty horses, and a train sufficient for two bishops.[t]

Peter's defence of his order, written in 1143, although addressed to Bernard, is not a reply to his tract, but to the Cistercian accusations in general.[u] He taxes the Cistercians with breach of the charity inculcated by their rule, and speaks of their white dress as a blamable singularity, whereas the black of the older orders was suitable as an emblem of sadness.[x] He justifies, as far as possible, the Cluniac departure from the letter of the

[s] Bern. Apol. 28-30. The splendour of the Cluniacs, whose mother-church, begun in 1089 and dedicated in 1131, was the largest ever erected in France (Fergusson, 653-4), brought their finances into difficulties, from which they were extricated by the care of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who took refuge at Cluny in his exile. Patrol. clxxxix. 189.

[t] Apol. 27. This is supposed to mean Suger. (See above, p. 148.) Robert of Mont St. Michel says that, among other reforms, William, who had been abbot of Ramsey and in 1179 became abbot of Cluny, reduced a prior who had been used to travel with forty horses to three. Patrol. clx. 532.

[u] Pet. Ep. i. 28; printed also in Bernard's works, Ep. 228. Ep. iv. 17 is much the same. See Mabillon, in Patrol. clxxxii. 898; also Pet. vi. 15.

[x] Patrol. clxxxix. 116.

Benedictine rule, which, he says, is beyond what the men of his day could bear;[y] and he adds that the Cistercians sin against charity by the severity of their discipline, which often drives monks to forsake the order, or renders them discontented, and impairs their health.[z] The use of furs and other such materials in dress and bedding, and the abatement of the precepts as to fasting, he excuses under the allowance which the Benedictine rule had made for diversities of climate, and of the discretion which it vested in the abbot; moreover, as coats of skins were given to Adam and Eve not for pride but for shame, the use of furs might serve to remind us that we are exiles from our heavenly country.[a] If the Cluniacs have lands, they are kinder to their tenants than lay landowners; if they have serfs, it is because they could not but accept them with the lands to which they were attached; if they get possession of castles, they turn them into houses of prayer.[b] They may rightly possess tolls, since it was only from the injustice of the toll-gatherer's trade that St. Matthew was called; if tithes were given to the Levites because they had no inheritance, they may rightly be given to monks, who have forsaken all earthly possessions; and if they are given to clerks for their pastoral care, why not to monks for their prayers, their tears, their alms, and their other good works for the benefit of men?[c] As manual labour was prescribed by St. Benedict by way of a remedy against idleness, it is needless when idleness may be avoided by other means; and for men who are weak from the nature of their diet, prayer, study, psalmody, and spiritual labours are more suitable than the works of husbandry.[d] The Benedictine

[y] Patrol. clxxxix. 154-5.

[z] Ib. 157. See above, p. 76. Bernard, however, sometimes advised those who could not bear the Cistercian rigour to go into other orders. Epp. 408, 442.

[a] Patrol. clxxxix. 121, 124-5, 128.

[b] Ib. 143-6.

[c] Ib. 115, 141-2, 146.

[d] Ib. 144-5.

precepts as to receiving strangers and washing their feet could not be literally performed without inconvenience and grievous waste of time; but they are observed in spirit.[e] And whereas the Cluniacs had been censured for being under no bishops, they have the truest and holiest bishop of all, the bishop of Rome, while they have the privilege of obtaining episcopal offices from any bishop of their own choice.[f]

The rivalry between Cluny and Cîteaux was exasperated by the circumstance that the general exemption of the Cistercians from tithes[g] affected some lands which had formerly paid tithes to the Cluniacs; and from this collisions frequently arose. In one of these quarrels the Cluniacs burnt down a Cistercian monastery;[h] and the enmity of the two orders outlived both Peter and Bernard.

It would seem that Bernard's 'Apology,' written soon after the scandals which the misconduct of abbot Pontius had occasioned among the Cluniacs,[i] contributed to suggest the important reforms which Peter effected in his order.[k] But the Cistercians themselves, although they continued to find eulogists,[l] although their salvation was declared by visions,[m] and although for a time their order was the refuge of spirits which sought a rigid discipline,[n] began early to show symptoms of decay. A prophetess

[e] Patrol. clxxxix. 130-33.

[f] Ib. 115, 137-9.

[g] This was granted by Innocent II., in 1132 (Ep. 83, Patrol. clxxix.). See against it, Ric. Cantuar. ap. Pet. Bles. Ep. 82.

[h] See Bernard, Epp. 48-50; Anastas. IV., Epp. 46, 71; Eugen. III., Epp. 499-500; Alex. III., Ep. 1128; Pet. Cluniac., Ep. i. 35-6; Mabill. Annal. vi. 195; Schröckh, xxvii. 296. In a similar case, Alexander III. begged the templars to waive their privilege of exemption. Ep. 787.

[i] See p. 32.

[k] Order. Vital. xiii. 4; Mabillon, in Patrol. clxxxii. 893-4.

[l] *E. g.*, Pet. Bles. in Patrol. ccvii. 270; Pet. Cell. Epp. 175-6, ib. ccii.

[m] Ib. clxxxv. 693, 1007, 1323; Cæsar. Heisterbac. vii. ult.; Gerl. Milovicensis, in Pertz, xvii. 702.

[n] See the remarkable story of the conversion of Pontius de Laraze, a robber knight, who founded the monastery of Salvanez, and annexed it to the order of Cîteaux, in Baluz. Miscell. iii. (8vo ed.), or in Bouquet, xiv. 423.

of Lorraine in 1153 addressed to them a letter on their decline in zeal and love.[o] The records of their general chapters contain many significant notices; thus, in 1181 it is said that some monasteries had run into debt by purchasing wine;[p] in 1182 it appears that their rule had been broken by the introduction of painted windows into churches;[q] in 1191 the chapter endeavours to take measures for the removal of the imputations of greediness which had been fixed on the Cistercians.[r] Alexander III. found it necessary to reprove them for having deviated from their rule by possessing farms and mills, parish-churches and altars, receiving fealty and homage, holding the offices of judges and tax-gatherers,[s] and using all their endeavours to enlarge their borders on earth, whereas their conversation ought to be in heaven; and he threatens, if they live like ordinary men, to take away the privileges which had been granted to them in consideration of their extraordinary strictness.[t] Privileges had, indeed, been so largely bestowed on the Cistercians that pope Clement IV., in the middle of the thirteenth century, speaks of these as "against the law of God and man,"[u] and already they had everywhere acquired exemptions like those which Bernard had strongly censured in other orders.[x] Walter Map in the

[o] Rob. de Monte, Patrol. clx. 475. Perhaps Hildegard is meant.

[p] C. 7 (Martene, Thes. iv. 1253).

[q] C. 11.

[r] C. 24. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks strongly of their greed, while he prefers them to the Cluniacs, whom he charges with sacrificing everything to luxury; and he mentions that the Cistercians, "ut a niveo corpore nævus abstergatur," had resolved to buy no property, but only to accept such as might be given. (Itin. Kambr. i. 3.) There is also much as to their greed in the Speculum Eccl. (*e.g.*, Dist. iii. c.). And a proverb founded on their encroaching tendencies is quoted, "Mali vicini sunt illi, sicut et albi monachi." p. 207.

[s] "Justitiarias et tributarias." See the explanation in the Corpus Jur. Canonici. Migne (cc. 1329), and Gieseler (II. iii. 317) read "justitiari*os* et tributari*os*."

[t] Decret. Gregor. III. xxxv. 3; cf. Alex. Epp. 365, 622-3, 1152.

[u] Giesel. II. ii. 317

[x] Ib.; Schmidt, iii. 335-6. See p. 389; Bern. de Moribus Episcoporum, 33; De Consideratione, iii. 14. Bernard is said to have wished that he might be pope for three years, in order

end of the twelfth century speaks of the Cistercians with especial abhorrence, and ridicules their pretensions to superior holiness and mortification.[y]

(3.) The increase of monachism, through the foundation of the new orders, and other causes, was enormous. Thus, it is said that whereas in England there had not at the Conquest been above a hundred monasteries, the number founded under Henry I. and his two successors was upwards of three hundred. Of these some owed their origin to compositions for vows of service in the holy war.[z] There was a general desire for all sorts of papal privileges; and, as has been already stated, where these could not be proved by genuine documents, recourse was often had to forgery.[a] The abbots aimed at entire independence of the episcopal authority—even attempting, like the lawless barons of the time, to present clerks to parish-churches without submitting them to the bishop of the diocese for institution.[b] They affected the use of episcopal ornaments, and the episcopal right of

that he might put down the abuses of exemptions, pluralities, and the living of monks out of their cloisters. Pet. Cantor, Verb. Abbrev. 44 (Patrol. ccv. 137).

[y] De Nugis Curialium, 38, 52, etc. See Girald. Cambr. iv. 140, 208, 219. Of their manner of complying with their rule as to the choice of a place for a monastery (see above, p. 47), Map thus speaks: "Locum ad habitaculum habilem eligunt, non inhabitalem sed inhabitatum, mundum, fœcundum, responsalem frugibus, non ineptum seminibus, septum nemoribus, scaturientem fontibus, cornucopiam, locum extra mundum in corde mundi, semotum ab hominibus hominum in medio, sæculum scire volentes, a sæculo sciri volentes ut qui

'fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

Portionem ergo vilem et despicabilem in medio magni nemoris a divite quodam obtinent, multis innocentiæ simultatibus, diutissimis precibus, Deo singulis adjecto syllabis," etc. (39.) For the style in which a certain Cistercian abbot displayed his real character, after having been raised to a bishoprick by Innocent III., see Innoc. Ep. iii. 10: "Picturata sella et chirothecis uteris sericatis, amplo te galero coronans, ut carnibus publice usque ad satietatem te repleas," etc. Cf. Ughelli, i. 1130, who says that the bishop amended his habits.

[z] Inett, ii. 220-1.

[a] See p. 64; Pet. Bles. Ep. 68 (Patrol. cc. 1459).

[b] Against this, see Urban II. in Gratian. II. xvi. 4. 6 (a canon ascribed to the council of Clermont, see Hefele, v. 201); Innoc. II. Ep. 562 (Patrol. clxxix.); Eugen. III. Ep. 443 (ib. clxxx.).

bestowing benedictions.[c] "How much more would they pay," asks St. Bernard, "if they might have the name as well as the privileges of bishops?"[d] Peter of Blois says that the monasteries most distinguished for holiness were those which either had never desired such privileges or had voluntarily resigned them;[e] that in any one but a bishop the use of episcopal ornaments is a mark of pride and presumption:[f] and he prevailed on his own brother to give up an abbacy to which the pope had granted the use of those ornaments.[g] So jealously was the privilege of exemption guarded that when Maurice, bishop of Paris, appeared at the consecration of the new church of St. Germain-des-Prés by Alexander III. the monks rose in tumult, as if his very presence were a claim of jurisdiction over them, and the pope sent three cardinals to beg that he would withdraw.[h] In England we find quarrels of this kind between the bishops and the great monasteries in many quarters; thus the bishops of Chichester had contests with the abbots of Battle,[i] the bishops of Bath with the abbots of Glastonbury,[k] the bishops of Sarum with the abbots of Malmesbury,[l] the bishops of Lincoln with the abbots of St. Albans.[m] But nowhere was there a more remarkable display of such differences than in the city of

A.D. 1163.

[c] Samson of St. Edmund's Bury was the first English abbot who obtained the privilege of giving the solemn episcopal blessing, wherever he might be (A.D. 1187). Jocel. de Brakelonda, 41.

[d] De Moribus Episcoporum, 36.

[e] Ep. 68, written in the name of Abp. Richard of Canterbury. Patrol. cc. 1459, B.

[f] Ep. 90 (ib. ccvii. 283)

[g] Ep. 93.

[h] Alex. III. Ep. 147. In the same year the bishop, at the council of Tours, claimed "jus quoddam" over the abbey; but the pope rejected his claim, because he could not show that it had been allowed by any former pope (Ep. 161). This looks like throwing the burden of proof on the wrong party.

[i] See the Chronicon Monast. de Bello, published by the Anglia Christiana Society.

[k] Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 578, seqq.; Inett, ii. 212.

[l] Petr. Bles. Ep. 68 (Patrol. cc. 1456-9); Inett, ii. 318.

[m] Alex. III. Ep. 63; Inett, ii. 215-16. So in Germany, the archbishops of Treves had differences with the abbots of St. Maximin's. Bern. Ep. 323.

Canterbury, where the archbishops were engaged in long and bitter feuds, not only with the abbots and brethren of St. Augustine's, but with the monks of their own cathedral.

The great monastery founded by the apostle of England was the first in rank of English religious houses, and in western Christendom was second only to Monte Cassino.[n] It was the burial-place of Augustine and of his successors in the throne of Canterbury, and on that account its members looked down on the cathedral of Christchurch or Trinity,[o] until Archbishop Cuthbert, when dying in 758, took measures that his death should be kept secret from the Augustinians until he should have been interred in the cathedral.[p] From that time the archbishops, with the exception of Cuthbert's second successor, Janbert, who had himself been abbot of St. Augustine's,[q] were buried in the cathedral, and its monks were thus enabled to take a higher standing than before against their Augustinian neighbours. But in the twelfth century serious disputes arose between the archbishops and the monks of St. Augustine's. The monks asserted that their house had been wholly independent of the see of Canterbury until Lanfranc, taking advantage

[n] Leo. IX. ap. Thorn (Twysden, 1784); Goscelin. Transl. S. Aug. ii. 3 (Patrol. clv.).

[o] Giraldus complains of the pride of both societies (Spec. Eccl. ii. 26-7). It would seem that the original name of the cathedral was Christchurch, but was afterwards superseded by that of Trinity until the dedication of the church by William of Corboyl, in 1128. Thorn, 1799. See Willis, Archit. Hist. of Cant. Cathedral, 19. Archbishop Courtney, in 1384, speaks of it as "nomine Christi fundatum, et summæ Trinitatis radiis decoratum." Wilkins, iii. 189.

[p] Gervas. Dorob. ap. Twysd. 1295, 1641; Thorn (who, as a monk of St. Augustine's, is very angry with Cuthbert), ib. 1773-4; Hist. Monast. S. August. Cantuar. (Chron. and Mem.) 317-18. This history is supposed by the editor, Archdeacon Hardwick, to have been compiled from older materials by Thomas of Elmham, about 1415 (Pref. xix. seqq.). See, too, Stanley, Hist. Memorials of Canterbury, 151, ed. 1; Hook, ii. 235. The opposite feelings of the parties are strongly represented by Gervase on the side of Christchurch, and by Thorn and Elmham on that of St. Augustine's.

[q] Thorn, 1774.

of his ancient friendship with the Norman abbot Scolland, persuaded him to cede privileges which the monastery had before enjoyed ;[r] while on the other side it was maintained that the abbey and the patronage of the abbacy had belonged to the archbishops until the Norman conquest.[s] The abbots claimed that the archbishops should give them the benediction in their own monastery, and without exacting any payment, or any profession of obedience.[t] They claimed, not only the patronage of parish-churches on their estates, but exclusive jurisdiction over the incumbents. They disputed certain yearly payments which they were required to make to the cathedral, and the archbishop's charges for supplying them with consecrated oil and chrism.[u] They professed to have privileges, reaching down from the age of king Ethelbert and St. Augustine, by which the monastery was rendered independent of all power, ecclesiastical or secular. In one of these documents Augustine was made to charge his successors in the see to regard the abbot not as their subject, but as their "brother, colleague, and fellow-minister in the word of God."[x] According to another document, pope John XIII. ordered that the abbot should be treated "as a Roman legate ;"[y] and (as we have seen) it was said that the abbots had been privileged by Alexander II. to wear the mitre (with the sandals and other episcopal ornaments), although they did not make use of the right until

[r] Thorn, 1791.

[s] Gervas. 1326-7 ; R. de Diceto, 602. Lanfranc, on the death of Scolland, asked William Rufus to let him, like his predecessors, appoint an abbot, but was refused. Gervas. 1327; Thorn, 1792. See vol. iv. p. 439.

[t] Even as to the history of these quarrels, the statements on the opposite sides are inconsistent. Thus, Gervase says that abbot Guy was blessed by Lanfranc in the cathedral (1327): Thorn, that William Rufus compelled the archbishop to give him the blessing in the abbey. 1793.

[u] Gervas. 1329 ; Thorn, 1797, 1800-5. Gervase says (l. c.) that the claims of St. Augustine's were mostly set up during the primacy of Theobald, by a nephew of abbot Hugh, who was known as William the Devil, and came to a bad end.

[x] Thorn, 1763-4.

[y] Ib. 1779.

a hundred and twenty years later.[z] These claims were the subject of continual appeals to the popes, who, according to their usual policy, for the most part sided with the abbey, while the officials of the Roman court were not sorry to make a profit out of the complicated litigation.[a] At one time, when Eugenius III. had desired archbishop Theobald to bless abbot Sylvester without exacting any profession, the archbishop repaired to the monastery for the purpose; but there (by his contrivance, according to the Augustinian chroniclers), the prior of Christchurch appeared, with a force of armed men, to protest against the benediction; and the archbishop caught at this pretext for delay, although a further reference to Rome obliged him at last to perform the office in the manner required.[b] At another time, when Alexander III. had ordered the benediction of abbot Roger, not only the archbishop of Canterbury, but the bishop of Worcester and the archbishop of Rouen refused to officiate; and the abbot found it necessary to seek the blessing from the pope himself, who gave it at Tusculum,[c] granting to the abbot the use of the episcopal mitre, ring, and gloves, but with a reservation of the archbishop's rights.[d] On another occasion, when Theobald had interdicted England in consequence of his differences with king Stephen, the Augustinians continued to ring their bells and to celebrate divine offices as usual; but for this they were put to penance by pope Eugenius, on the ground that they were

A.D. 1151-3.

A.D. 1179.

A.D. 1148.

[z] See above, p. 63. But R. de Diceto speaks of Roger, who was the first that *used* these ornaments (A.D. 1179) as the first who was entitled to them, having got them from Alexander III. 602.

[a] Gervas. 1462.

[b] See Eugen. III. Epp. 518-19, Adrian. IV. Epp. 79, 121; Thorn, 1811-14; Hardwick, Pref. to Hist. S. Aug. 10.

[c] Alex. III. Ep. 1343.

[d] Gervas. 1331, 1444-6; Thorn, 1824; Hardw. Pref. 13; Ben. Petrib. 267; Hoveden, 326-7; R. de Diceto, 602.

bound to obey Theobald as legate, if not as archbishop; and when the pope, after some difficulty, absolved them, he declared that he acted "not as apostolic pontiff, but in the room of the archbishop of Canterbury."[e]

The monks were extremely unwilling to produce the originals of the privileges on which they relied; but, after having eluded two papal orders for their production, they were at length, in 1182, compelled to exhibit them to three commissioners appointed by Alexander III.; when it was found that as to materials, form, and substance, the documents which pretended to the greatest antiquity were suspicious in the extreme. They were, however, approved by Lucius III., and archbishop Richard was obliged to withdraw the charge of forgery which he had thrown out against them.[f] A compromise was agreed on as to some of the rival claims;[g] but as to the benediction in the monastery all the papal authority was unable to enforce obedience from the archbishops; and the abbots were obliged to receive their blessing, sometimes from the pope in person, sometimes from any bishop who could be persuaded to give it,[h] until in 1406 abbot Thomas Hunden was blessed in St. Paul's, London, by archbishop Arundel, who acknowledged him, in the words of the charter ascribed to St. Augustine, as his "brother, colleague, and fellow-minister."[i]

But while the monks of Christchurch were allied with the archbishops against the rival monastery, their own relations with them were far from harmonious. "It seems," wrote John of Salisbury during Becket's exile, "as if hatred of their archbishops were an inheritance

[e] Gervas. 1364. Cf. Hist. Pontific. in Pertz, xx. 532-4.

[f] Gervas. 1328, 1458; Thorn, 1832; Thom. Elmham, 441-6; Hardwick, Pref. 28-33.

[g] Lucius III. ap. Th. Elmham, 458.

[h] Thorn, 1821-7. See a list in Hardwick, Pref. 37.

[i] Th. Elmham, 89.

of the monks of Canterbury. When Anselm was twice banished for righteousness' sake, they never bestowed any consolation on him. They despised Ralph, they hated William, they laid snares for Theobald, and now, without any cause, they insatiably persecute Thomas."[k] Theobald turned out two of their priors (who were the virtual heads of the monastery, as the archbishop himself was supposed to be abbot); and at a later time a more serious difference broke out. The circumstances of archbishop Baldwin's[l] election had naturally left unpleasant remembrances on both sides; and soon after entering on his see, the archbishop and the monks were violently embroiled.[m] They complained that he interfered with their revenues and privileges; that he seized the management of their estates, expelled their officials, whose places he filled with his own servants, suspended the prior, confined the monks within their own precincts, cutting off their supplies of food, so that they were indebted for the means of life to the charity of their neighbours—even of Jews; and that he excommunicated them.[n]

[k] Ep. 241. Yet, when appealing to Rome against Abp. Baldwin, they ventured to assert that they had never resisted their archbishops until his time (Gervas. 1310), and, in particular, that between them and Thomas (who had by that time become a popular saint) there had always been the greatest affection. Ib. 1313-14; Epp. Cantuar. in Stubbs' 'Richard I.' vol. ii. passim.

[l] See p. 354. Baldwin is described by Prof. Stubbs as "a Cistercian of the best sort, a man who lived but little for the world, and that to make it better." (Introd. xxxiv.; cf. Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1180). The English chronicler of Laon says that he was "vir morum gravitate laudabilis, hoc solo notatus quod cum Judæis nimis familiaris frequens haberet colloquium." (Bouq. xviii. 705.) Giraldus speaks of him as very learned and pious, but too gentle, so that, as he ascended in preferment, he became less efficient, and gave Urban III. occasion to write to him as "monacho ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso." (Spec. Eccles. ii. 25, 33; Works, iv.)

[m] Gervas. 1481. Gervase, who was one of the monks, has left us a very fu account of these quarrels (in Twysden), with his "Imaginations" of the plead ings which might be advanced on each side. The letters connected with the affair have been printed from a Lambeth MS. by Prof. Stubbs in vol. ii. of his 'Memorials of Richard I.' (Chron. and Mem.) See also Hook, ii. 550.

[n] Gervas. 1305, etc.; Ben. Petrib. 532; Stubbs, ii. 184, etc.

In order to rid himself of the annoyances resulting from his connexion with them, he formed the scheme of erecting a new church of secular canons, to bear the name of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of supporting it chiefly at the expense of Christchurch. As the germ of this, he began to rebuild and enlarge the church of St. Stephen at Hackington, about a mile distant from the cathedral,[o] and afterwards removed the site to another place in the neighbourhood. In order to carry out his scheme he caused collections to be made throughout all England, with the inducement of ample indulgences; he endeavoured to draw the other bishops into taking part in the foundation;[p] and he was encouraged by the support of Henry II., who had abundant reasons for disliking the monks of Christchurch. These, however, showed themselves determined to resist by appealing to the pope,[q] and enlisting in their cause the influence of the French king and of other foreign patrons.[r] They declared that the archbishop intended, by bestowing the canonries of his new church on the bishops of his province, not only to transfer to these the rights of the cathedral as to the election of archbishops, but to constitute himself a pope, surrounded by a college of cardinals, subject to the influence of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, but independent of the apostolic see.[s] The popes were naturally inclined to side with the monks, more especially as the usual means of securing the favour of Rome were largely employed;[t] and, with the exception of Gregory VIII.,

[o] When Peter of Blois, on the archbishop's part, told the Roman curia that it was more than a mile from the city, Hugh of Lucca ventured to assert "per corpus Domini nostri" that it was within a child's stone-throw of the city, and within a crossbow-shot of the cathedral, so that the singing of one church could be heard in the other. Stubbs. ii. 81.

[p] Gervas. 1306-8, 1481; R. de Diceto, 620.

[q] The justiciary Glanvile told them, "Solam Romam quæritis, sola Roma destruet vos." Gervas. 1544.

[r] Stubbs, pp. 84, 86, etc.

[s] Ib. xxxvii.; 55, 80, 117.

[t] An emissary of the convent, named John, is very severe on the corruption of the Roman court, *e.g.*, "Romanus

they showed themselves favourable to the convent.[u] In 1189 two legates were sent by Gregory to investigate the matter; but one of them died by the way, and the other, John of Anagni, was not allowed to approach Canterbury until the question had been compromised by Richard I., on the footing that a prior whom Baldwin had nominated should be otherwise provided for, that another should be appointed by the king and the archbishop, and that the archbishop should give up the project of a collegiate church on condition of receiving from the monks the same obedience which they had paid to his predecessors.[x] The legate indignantly declared that this agreement was void, as having been extorted from the monks, and it was afterwards annulled by Celestine III., who ordered the new buildings to be destroyed.[y] Baldwin, before setting out on the crusade, directed that the materials should be removed to Lambeth, which he had lately acquired for his see;[z] but on hearing of his death at the siege of Acre, the monks of Christchurch drove out their prior, appointed another in his room, and elected to the primacy Reginald, bishop of Bath, who ordered the demolition of his predecessor's college at Lambeth. Reginald, however, died before consecration,[a] and his successor,

clamantem, quamvis semper, nisi dederit non exaudiet, et cum acceperit, non ignoscet; emungit multum et sanguinem elicit violentius,

'Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo,'

(Stubbs, 214); "Ablativus propriè, ut dicit Priscianus, Romanorum est, non dativus." (Ib. 230; cf. 194.) Again, when the bishop of Ostia is appointed legate, "Verbum secretum: concessit dominus papa nobis Ostiensem, sed sub certa taxatione pecuniæ; is enim est mos et modus ejus." Ib. 218.

[u] Gervase speaks strongly against Gregory (1513). Urban III. at one time countenanced the archbishop's scheme, but he afterwards condemned it (Epp. 60, 120-6, 142-5; Patrol. cciii.); R. de Diceto, 631-5; Gervas. 1315-17); and his death is represented by Peter of Blois as a judgment on his opposition to Baldwin. Ep. 211 (Patrol. ccvii. 494).

[x] Gervas. 1323-4, 1552, 1556-8, 1563-4; R. de Diceto, 649; Ben. Petrib. 575-7; Hoveden, 377; Pauli, iii. 208.

[y] Stubbs, Epp. 315, 325, 334-6, 356, 358, seqq.; Cœlest. Ep. 660 (Patrol. ccvi.); R. de Diceto, 649; Gervas. 1324, 1572.

[z] Stubbs, lxxx. 324.

[a] Feeling his end near, he caused a letter to be written, begging the prior

Hubert Walter, revived the project. But, although he had the support of king Richard, although all the Cistercian abbots in England exerted themselves for him,[b] and although the authority of archbishops Anselm, Theobald, and Thomas was alleged in favour of the design, he was compelled by Innocent III. in 1199 to pull down the buildings which he had begun to erect.[c]

In other English cathedrals which were in the hands of monks, similar troubles often arose; and it is said that archbishop Baldwin induced all the bishops to promise that they would follow his example by turning their episcopal churches into colleges of secular clergy.[d] Hugh of Nunant, bishop of Lichfield, nephew of Arnulf of Lisieux, incurred the especial abuse of the monastic writers, with the single exception of Giraldus Cam-

of Christchurch to bring him the monastic habit—"Mihi non videtur quod velit Deus quod vester sim archiepiscopus; vester autem volo et desidero esse monachus" (Stubbs, Ep. 388). Peter of Blois represents his death on St. Stephen's day and his burial on St. Thomas of Canterbury's day as judgments on his opposition to a church which was under the patronage of those saints—"ac si unus peremisset eum, et alius tumulo infodisset" (Ep. 211). Peter is styled by Gervase, "totius fere malitiæ hujus artifex impudicus" (1490), and, with Gerald la Pucelle (afterwards bishop of Lichfield), is denounced by him as active against the monks of St. Augustine's in their differences with archbishop Richard (1821). His 211th letter is in favour of the scheme for a college of canons, which, he says, had been entertained both by St. Anselm and by St. Thomas, because each of them in his exile had been attended by clerks only, while the monks of the cathedral deserted him. But in a later letter (238), addressed to the monks of the cathedral, Peter professes shame for having opposed them, and says that, as he had laboured against them for eight months, so he had been punished by severe illness of the like duration (Patrol. ccvii.).

[b] Gervas. 1613.

[c] Gesta Innoc. 42 (Patrol. ccxiv.); Innoc. Epp. i. 111, 350-1, 357, 432, 433-6; ii. 71; Gervas. 1572, 1593, 1602, 1612, 1623; R. Coggeshalle, 852, Vit. S. Hugon. Lincoln. iii. 11 (Patrol. cliii.); Bened. Petrib. 625; R. Hoved. 377, 457; Stubbs, ii. 380, etc.; Chron. Petrib. in Sparke, 398; R. de Diceto, 705-8 (who says that Innocent, "si fas est dicere," unduly favoured the monks, and that, although God has given St. Peter the power of building, his power to destroy the holy place may be doubted). The substance of the arguments for and against the foundation may be found in Stubbs, 520-38. Ugolino Conti, the kinsman of Innocent, and afterwards Pope Gregory IX., had acted for the convent in the last stages of the affair, and would accept no other recompense than some relics of St. Thomas. Ib. 471-2, 476.

[d] Gervas. 1670.

brensis,[e] by substituting secular canons for the monks of Coventry, and is said to have advised Richard I. to suppress all the monks in England;[f] but a few years after he was obliged to succumb, and archbishop Hubert, in obedience to papal authority, reinstated the monks whom Hugh had ejected.[g]

While monks were thus brought into rivalry and actual collision with secular canons, they were involved in a continual controversy with the regular canons as to the superiority of their respective manners of life, while the canons denied the right of the monks to preach, and would have confined them to the strict duties of religious seclusion. Among the writers who took the monastic side were Abelard, Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, and Rupert, abbot of Deutz;[h] among the champions of the canons were Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, Philip of Harveng, a Præmonstratensian abbot in the diocese of Cambray, and Lambert, abbot of St. Rufus, near Avignon.[i]

Notwithstanding the frequent attempts at a reformation of monastic life, and the institution of new orders with a view to a greater severity of discipline, we still find that the state of monachism is a subject of frequent complaint. Godfrey of Vigeois describes the monks of his

[e] Spec. Eccl. ii. 24 (Works, iv.).

[f] "Monachos ad diabolos!" said the bishop (Gervas. 1556). William of Newburgh, a writer usually remarkable for moderation, calls him "homo callidus, audax, inverecundus, et ad ausus improbos litteratura eloquentiaque instructus." iv. 36. See Stubbs, Introd. to Hoveden, vol. iii. pp. liii.-iv.

[g] Cœlestin. III. Ep. 327 (Patrol. 206); Innoc. III. Ep. i. 245 (ib. ccxiv.); R. de Diceto, 701; Gervas. 1600; R. Wendover, iii. 126-8; Ric. Divis. cc. 84-5; Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 435; R. Coggeshalle, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v 846-7. It is said that Hugh on his death-bed expressed deep penitence for his measures against the monks. M. Paris, Hist. Min. ii. 67.

[h] Abælard, Ep 12 (Patrol. clxxviii.); Hugo, Dialog. 6 (ib. cxcii.); Rupert. Tuit., 'Altercatio Monachi et Clerici,' 'Qua ratione ordo Monach. præcellit ord. Clericorum;' 'De Vita vere Apostolica' (ib. clxx.).

[i] Anselm. Havelb. de Ordine Canon. Regularium (Patrol. clxxxviii.); Phil. de Harveng de Institutione Clericorum (ib. cciii.); Lambert. ap. Martene, Thes. i. 239; Mosh. ii. 460; Schröckh, xxvii. 341.

day as spurious heirs of the older cœnobites; as lax in their diet, devoted to the vanities of fashion, and otherwise unfaithful to the true idea of their profession.[k] In some cases the monastic food and clothing were commuted for an allowance in money—an arrangement utterly opposed to the principles of the monastic system.[l] Giraldus Cambrensis mentions as a chief cause of disorder among the English monks the custom of sending them by twos or threes to remote cells, where they were free from the discipline of the convents on which the cells depended. Although the life in such places often involved much of roughness and privation, the monks greatly preferred it to the "imprisonment of the cloister," on account of its freedom from restraint; but the system became the cause of general laxity, and of frequent and serious scandals.[m] Wibald of Stablo speaks of some monastic societies as careless of their rule, and engrossed by talk of "canons, decrees, appeals, councils, rights, laws, condemnations," and the like; as devoted to bodily indulgences and temporal good things, and impatient of all control from their superiors.[n] Nor were the attempts at reform always of such a kind as to deserve approval. Thus cardinal Walter of Albano, after mentioning with praise the zeal of some abbots and others who had agreed to meet anually at Reims with a view to monastic reformation—that by their means houses which had been temples of voluptuousness, the haunts of owls and hedgehogs, syrens and satyrs, had become "glorious sheepfolds of Christ"—goes on to censure them for indiscreet innovation in some respects.[o] Anselm of Havelberg represents people as perplexed by the number, the eccentric affectations, and the contradictory rules of the new orders

[k] Bouq. xii. 450.

[l] Conc. Campinac. A.D. 1238, c. 20.

[m] Girald. Spec. Eccl., Works, iv. 31-37, 45.

[n] Ep. 105 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

[o] Ep. 5 (ib. clxxiii.).

which had arisen;[p] and John of Salisbury strongly denounces the practices of hypocritical monks, who pretended to an extreme severity of life in order to cloak their ambition, avarice, and malignity.[q]

(4.) The history of the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital has in part been noticed by anticipation,[r] and partly in connection with the crusades. In addition to their quarrels with each other, with the patriarchs, and with their other neighbours in the east, we find them continually engaged in disputes as to privileges and exemptions in the west.[s] By the abuse which they made of these (as by keeping their churches open in time of interdict, receiving excommunicate persons to the sacraments, and giving them Christian burial) they were drawn into frequent collisions with the bishops and clergy; and such abuses were strongly denounced by Alexander III. and by the Lateran council of 1179.[t]

In addition to the templars and hospitallers, other orders, in which religion was combined with special objects, took their origin from the crusades.

The Teutonic order, which afterwards became famous, arose out of the association of about forty crusaders from north Germany, who, at the siege of Acre, A.D. 1190. formed themselves into a brotherhood for the care of the sick and wounded—sheltering them in tents made out of the sails of their vessels.[u] The new society gained the patronage of the king of Jerusalem, of the

[p] Dial. iii. (ib. clxxxviii.).

[q] Polycrat. vii. 21.

[r] Pp. 56-61.

[s] See Pet. Cluniac., Ep. vi. 26 (Patrol. clxxxix.); Joh. Sarisb. Ep. 95 (ib. cxcix.), and many letters of the popes. In 1179, Alexander III. had to settle a great quarrel between the orders. Ep. 1429 (ib. cc.).

[t] Alex. Ep. 1173, Conc. Later. c. 9.

[u] Pet. Dusburg. i. 1, in Hirsch, 'Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum,' t. i., Lips. 1861; De Primord. Ordinis Teutonici, ib. Supplem. 220, seqq.; Raumer, ii. 297; Michaud, iv. 129. There was, however, an older germ of the order, about 1127 (Joh. Iperius, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 626; Jac. Vitriac. ap. Bongars, 1084-5; see, too, Hirsch, n. on P. Dusb. 27-8). As to the connexion with the hospital at Jerusalem, see Töppen, ib i. 25-ü.

patriarch, and of other important personages; and Frederick of Swabia, during the short interval between his arrival at Acre and his death, recommended it to his brother, Henry VI., and also to pope Celestine, who in 1196 confirmed its institution.[x] The order was governed by provincials, with a grand-master at its head. The first master was Henry of Walpot,[y] but the great extension of the order was due mainly to his third successor, Herman of Salza, who, according to a chronicler, "had the pope and the emperor, with other princes and great men, in his own hand, so that he obtained whatever he might ask for its honour and advantage."[z] Under him it acquired great privileges and emoluments, and entered on its career of conquest on the shores of the Baltic;[a] and whereas Herman had expressed a wish that by the sacrifice of one of his eyes he might raise the order to the number of ten military brethren in arms, it counted soon after his death more than 2,000 knights of noble German families.[b]

A.D. 1210.

At Acre also was instituted an English order of hospitallers, named after St. Thomas the Martyr,[c] whose birth came by a romantic story of later date to be connected with the Holy Land; and in the last year of the century arose the order of Trinitarians or Mathurins, founded by John of Matha, a priest of Provençal birth, for the redemption of captives from the infidels, and confirmed by Innocent III.[d]

In Spain various military orders arose, such as those

[x] Pet. Dusb. i. 1; De Primord. ap. Hirsch, i. 225.

[y] Pet. Dusb. i. 2.

[z] Ib. 5. The number of privileges, etc., granted to the order by Frederick II. alone is prodigious. See Böhmer and Huillard-Bréholles.

[a] See below, Book VII. c. vi. 4.

[b] Pet. Dusb. i. 53. For the later history of the order see Voigt's work, Berl. 1857-9.

[c] "Ordo Militiæ Hospitalis S. Thomæ de Acon." R. de Diceto, 654; Monast. Angl. vi. 646.

[d] Innoc. III. Ep. i. 481; Mansi, n. in Raynald. xix. 36; Helyot, ii. 188; Alberic. Tr.-Font. in Bouq. xviii. 761; Schröckh, xxvii. 513; Michaud, iv. 129. The rule is in Holstein, ed. Brockie, iii. 3, seqq.

of Calatrava[e] and Avisa,[f] both instituted for the defence of the faith against the Moors, and connected with the Cistercian order; and the order of St. James, intended for the protection of pilgrims to the shrine of the apostle at Compostella.[g]

(5.) An association which in so far resembled the military orders as it was formed under a religious sanction for a warlike purpose, was that of the *Caputiati*, or White Hoods of Auvergne. Large bodies of the mercenary soldiers whom it had become usual to employ in war, and who, from the province which originally supplied them, were known by the name of Brabançons, had betaken themselves to a life of plunder and violence, and kept that country in terror. Their numbers were swelled by desperate and disreputable persons of all classes, among whom it is said that there were many clerks, monks, and even nuns.[h] These "hellish legions," as they were styled by a chronicler of the age,[i] robbed, burnt, slew, carried off the precious ornaments of churches, profaned the holy sacrament, and treated the clergy with savage insult and cruelty, so that some even died of their blows.[k] Although in this they appear to have been moved rather by utter irreligion than by any heretical opinions, they were condemned by the Lateran council of 1179 in the same canon which proscribed the Cathari.[l] But the beginning of active measures against them was

[e] A.D. 1158. See the life of the founder, Raymond, a Cistercian abbot, Acta SS. Feb. 1; Alex. III. Ep. 273; Joh. Iperius, ap. Mart. Thes. iii. 627; Innoc. III. Supplem. Epp., Patrol. ccxvii. 283; Mariana, l. xi. c. 6; Pagi, xix. 119; Helyot, vi. 34, seqq.

[f] A.D. 1162. See Joh. Cirita, Patrol. clxxxviii.; Gieseler, II. ii. 380.

[g] Alex. III. Ep. 1183; Innoc. III. Ep. xiii. 11; Joh. Iper. l. c. 628. The date is variously given, from 1161 to 1170. See Mariana, vii. 63-7.

[h] Gervas. Dorob. 1461.

[i] Godefr. Vosiens. ap. Bouquet, xix. 215.

[k] Rigord. in Bouq. xvii. 11.

[l] "De Brabantionibus et Aragonensibus, Navariis, Bascolis, Coterellis, et Triaverdinis, qui tantam [in] Christianos immanitatem exercent, ut nec ecclesiis nec monasteriis deferant, non viduis et pupillis, non senibus et pueris, nec cuilibet parcant ætati aut sexui, sed more paganorum omnia perdant et vastent, similiter constituimus," etc. Can. 27.

made in 1182 by one Durand, a carpenter of Le Puy-en-Velay, which had been a popular place of pilgrimage until the outrages of these ruffians made the roads unsafe. Durand professed to have been repeatedly warned by the blessed Virgin to exhort his neighbours to the establishment of peace;[m] and the bishop of Le Puy gave his sanction to the undertaking. Bishops and abbots, nobles, clergy, and men of all classes banded themselves together in an association for the purpose. The members were pledged to eschew gaming, excess in meat and drink, swearing, and other vices; to do no wrong, and to carry on implacable hostilities against all wrong-doers; and such, it is said, was their union, that, if one had killed the brother of another, the surviving brother admitted the slayer to the kiss of peace and was bound to supply his needs. The mark of their profession was a white hood, of monastic shape, with a leaden image of the Virgin sewed on to it.[n]

The enterprise thus set on foot was crowned with success; it is said that in one engagement 7,000 of the Brabançons or cottereaux were slain;[o] but the clergy of the victorious party disgraced themselves by inciting their companions to cruelties against the prisoners, and fifteen hundred wretched women of loose life, who were among the number, were burnt at a slow fire.[p] The country which had been infested by the cottereaux was speedily cleared of them; but the white-hoods themselves began to show symptoms of opinions dangerous to social order, maintaining the equality of all men, and attacking the nobles who were within their reach; so that

[m] The 'Anonymus' of Laon says that a canon of Le Puy dressed up a young man to personate the Virgin. Bouq. xviii. 705.

[n] Gervas. 1461; Rigord. ap. Bouq. xvii. 11-12; Rob. Altissiod. ib. xviii. 251 Rob de Monte, Contin. ib. 336; Godef. Vos. ib. xix. 219; Will. de Nangis, ap. D'Achery, iii. 13.

[o] Rigord. p. 67; Godef. Vos. 220-1. The Anon. Laudun. says 9,000. P. 706.

[p] Sismondi, vi. 33.

Philip Augustus, who had aided their undertaking at the outset, found it necessary to suppress the association.[q]

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) In the early church, the term *sacrament* (like the Greek *μυστήριον*) had been applied to any symbolical religious act, so that, while baptism and the eucharist were regarded as rites having a peculiar character of their own, there was no limit to the number of things which might be styled sacraments.[r] And thus, as late as the twelfth century, we find the name given by Godfrey of Vendôme to the symbolical ring and staff which were used in the investiture of bishops,[s] and by Bernard to the symbolical washing of feet.[t] From this vagueness in the use of the term, the number of sacraments had been very variously stated. Thus Raban Maur and Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century, laid down that there are four sacraments—Baptism, Unction, the Body and the Blood of the Lord,[u] whereas Peter Damiani, in the eleventh century, speaks of twelve,[x] but elsewhere distinguishes three as chief—namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Ordination.[y]

In the eastern church, although John of Damascus speaks only of Baptism and the Eucharist,[z] yet from the time of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, in the sixth century, six sacraments had been generally acknow-

[q] R. Altissiod. ap. Bouq. xviii. 251; Hist. Epp. Altissiod. ib. 729-30; Martin, iii. 512. The Laon 'Anonymus' speaks of the "insana rabies caputiatorum." P. 705.

[r] Gieseler, II. ii. 450; vi. 526.

[s] De Ordinatione Episcoporum. Patrol. clvii. 217, C.

[t] Sermo in Cœna Dom. § 4 (ib. clxxxiii. 273). St. Ambrose calls this "fidei mysterium." De Virgin. c. 10.

[u] Raban. de Clericorum Institutione i. 24 (Patrol. ccvii.); Paschas. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. iii. 2 (ib. cxx.).

[x] Viz., Baptism, Confirmation, Unction of the sick, Ordination, Unction of kings, Dedication of churches, Confession, the Consecration of canons, monks, hermits, and nuns, and Marriage. Serm. 69 (Patrol. cxliv.). It will be observed that the Eucharist is not named here. See the editor's note.

[y] Liber Gratissimus, c. 9; Patr. cxiv.

[z] De Fide Orthodoxa, iv. 8, 13.

ledged—namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, the Consecration of Chrism, Ordination, Monastic Profession, and the Rites for the Dead.[a] But now, in the western church, the mystical number of seven was fixed as that of the sacraments, from the idea of a correspondence with the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. This number is insisted on in the report of Otho of Bamberg's missionary teaching,[b] and may be gathered from the writings of Hugh of St. Victor, although he also uses the term *sacrament* in the more general sense of the older writers;[c] but the establishment of the number is chiefly to be ascribed to the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard, the most popular theological manual of the age, in which the sacraments are said to be Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Matrimony.[d]

(2.) The doctrine of Berengar as to the eucharist, although condemned, was not extinct.[e] Thus we are told of some who, while they held with Berengar in

[a] Dion. Areop. de Ecclesiast. Hierarchia (Opera, i. 330, seqq., Antv. 1634); Theod. Studita, Ep. ii. 165 (Sirmond. Opuscula, t. v.). See Allatius de Eccl. Orient. et Occid. Consensu, 1264-5 (Colon. 1648).

[b] See p. 282. This is said to be the earliest instance; and there is room for a doubt whether the biographers may not have introduced an idea which had become popular between the time of Otho's mission and the date of writing. Gieseler, II. ii. 453.

[c] See extracts from him in Gieseler, II. ii. 451-3. A treatise, 'De Cæremoniis,' etc., ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor, in which the "seven principal sacraments" are distinctly enumerated (i. 12, Patrol. clxxvii.), is really by Robert Paululus, a priest of Amiens. Hugonin, ib. clxxv., Prolegg. col. 123. Gieseler, II. ii. 453.

[d] L. IV. dist. ii. 1 (Patrol. cxcii.). See Giesel. vi. 528; Herzog, xiii. 243.

[e] For the various opinions on the question, see Alger (scholastic of Liége, about 1130), Prolog. in Lib. de Sacramentis, Patrol. clxxx. 739. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, in the next century, tells of a priest and canon of Cologne, who, on hearing another priest, at the administration of the sacrament, ask a sick person whether he believed it to be the very body of Christ, was astonished, having until then supposed it to be merely "a sacrament, *i.e.*, a sign and representation." On inquiring of the scholastic, he found that he had been holding a heretical doctrine, and in token of penance he built a hospital and a chapel. "But," asks Cæsarius, "if a priest, a man of learning and of excellent life, could thus err, what shall I say of the unlearned and evil?" Dialog. ix. 56.

substance, joined with the church in condemning him, because, instead of contenting himself with the language of Scripture, he had put forward his ideas too nakedly.[f] Abelard speaks of the question, "whether the bread which is seen be only a figure of the Lord's body, or be also the real substance of the Lord's very flesh," as being yet undetermined.[g] And Rupert of Deutz expresses himself in such a manner as to the continuance of the bread and wine in their own substance as at least to need a subtle vindication of his conformity with the modern Roman doctrine against the apparent meaning of his words.[h] But the doctrine of transubstantiation—a word which is first found in a treatise professing to contain the opinions of Peter Damiani,[i]—made way, and the impression of it on the popular mind was strengthened by an ever-increasing multitude of miraculous tales—as that the eucharistic wafer was seen by the priest to change into a beautiful infant; that the bread appeared as flesh, and the wine as blood; and that the consecrated host resisted the power of fire.[k]

[f] Zachar. Chrysopolit. in Unum ex Quatuor, l. iv., Patrol. clxxxvi. 508.

[g] Theolog. Christ., l. iv., Patrol. clxxxviii. 1286.

[h] In Exod., l. ii. c. 10. A note on the passage identifies his opinion with that which was condemned at the fourth council of Lateran, in 1215 (Patrol. clxvii. 617); cf. De Divinis Officiis, ii. 9 (ib. clxx.). Rupert was assailed by William of St. Thierry (ib. clxxx. 344, seqq.). Gerberon labours to defend his orthodoxy against Bellarmine (ib. clxvii. 99, seqq.). Gieseler (II. ii. 433) quotes Bernard's sermon on St. Martin (ib. clxxxiii. 495, A).—"Usque hodie eadem caro nobis, sed spiritualiter utique, non carnaliter, exhibetur,"—as showing that he did not hold transubstantiation. But these words seem consistent with any amount of belief as to an *invisible* change.

[i] Expos. Canonis Missæ, 7 (Patrol. cxlv. 883—see vol. iv. p. 336); Gieseler, II. ii. 434. So Peter of Blois speaks, Ep. 140, col. 420, D. Stephen, bishop of Autun, who has been referred by some writers to the tenth century, but whose real date is 1112-36, represents the Saviour as saying, "Panem quem accepi in corpus meum transubstantiavi" (De Sacram. Altaris, c. 14, Patrol. clxxii.). Others used the word *transition* (Hug. S. Vict. de Sacrament. II. viii. 9, ib. clxxvi.); or *translation* ("transfertur"—Honor. Augustod., ib. clxxii. 1249).

[k] *E. g.*, Herbert. Turrium Archiep. de Miraculis, iii. 19, seqq. (Patrol. clxxxv.); Bernard. Vita Malach. 26 (ib. clxxxii.); Rupert. Tuit. de Incendio Tuitii, 5 (ib. clxx.); Vita Hug. Lincoln. v. 4-5 (ib. cliii.); Cæsar. Heisterbac. Dialogi, l 9.

(3.) The growing opinion of a material presence in the eucharist introduced an important change in the manner of administration. In early ages, the sacrament had been always given under both kinds, although in Africa it had been usual to allow morsels of the consecrated bread to be carried from the church for the sick, or for the use of devout persons at times when they could not attend the public communion.[l] The declaration of pope Gelasius I. against a separation of the elements has been already quoted ;[m] and, although primarily directed against the Manichæans, who condemned the use of wine, it is equally applicable against all mutilated administration. Now, however, it began to be thought that there was a danger of profanation in receiving the wine, from the dipping of the beard into the chalice, or from the inability of sick persons to swallow. In order to guard against such accidents, it had been usual from the eighth century to employ a tube in drinking from the chalice ;[n] but in the latter part of the eleventh century, a custom arose of dipping the bread into the wine, and so administering both elements together, and, from having at first been practised in the communion of infants and of the sick, it was extended to other cases.[o] This usage was condemned by Urban II. at the council of Clermont,[p] and by Paschal II. in a letter to abbot Pontius, of Cluny, which allows no exception other than the cases of infants or very sick persons, who could not swallow the bread.[q] Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, how-

Bingham, XV. iv. 11-13; above, vol. i. pp. 237-8; vol. ii. p. 54.

[m] Ib. 362.

[n] Gieseler, II. ii. 439.

[o] Ib.; Neand. vii. 477.

[p] A.D. 1095, c. 28. It had been condemned by a council at Braga, in 675 (c. 2), and the canon was often quoted by mistake as a decree of Pope Julius. See Gieseler, II. ii. 439-40.

[q] Ep. 535 (Patrol. clxiii.). See too, against the practice, Hildebert, Ep. ii. 15 (ib. clxxi.), which is supposed to have been addressed to Pontius; and 'Micrologus' (a ritual treatise of the end of the 11th century, which some ascribe to Ivo of Chartres—see Nat. Alex. xiii. 213; Guéranger, i. 317), c. 19 (Patrol. cli.).

ever, on being questioned by a friend as to the propriety of thus administering in a manner "different from, and almost contrary to," the Saviour's institution, answered by maintaining the right of the church to legislate in such matters, and defending the practice as a safeguard against profanation.[r] And in England it kept its ground until forbidden by the council of London in 1175.[s]

The doctrine of concomitancy—*i.e.*, that Christ is contained entire under each of the eucharistic elements—had been laid down by St. Anselm on independent grounds, and, while stating it, he had spoken of communion in both kinds;[t] but it was now brought to support the novel practice of administering in one kind only.[u] The writers of the age, in general, however,—even those who held that administration in one kind was sufficient, and that a contrary opinion was heretical,[x]—yet maintained the ancient usage of administering in both kinds.[y]

(4.) The belief in the necessity of infant-communion had died out in the West, and, in consequence of the supposed especial danger of profanation by spilling

[r] Dacher. Spicil. iii. 471. (This letter is not given by Migne, Patrol. clxiii.).

[s] C. 16; Gieseler, II. ii. 440.

[t] Ep. iv. 107 (Patrol. clix.). Cf. Hildebert, Serm. 38 (ib. clxxi. 535).

[u] Thus, Rudolph, abbot of St. Trond, wrote—

"Hic et ibi cautela fiat, ne presbyter ægris
Aut sanis tribuat ievius de sanguine Christi;
Nam fundi posset leviter, simplexque putaret
Quod non sub specie sit totus Jesus utraque."

(Gieseler, II. ii. 441.) Alexandre Noël mentions an opinion of some, that unconsecrated wine became consecrated by having the consecrated bread dipped in it; but he shows that, according to the better authorities, the sanctification so acquired is not consecration. xiii. 211-13.

[x] *E.g.*, William of Champeaux, Patrol. clxiii. 1039.

[y] See Giesel. II. ii. 441, seqq.; Pet. Lombard. Sentent. IV. xi. 6 (Patrol. cxcii.); Cæsar. Heisterb. ix. 1, p. 657, etc. Cæsarius (ix. 27) combats the opinion of Peter the Chanter, that the sacramental change is not wrought on the bread until the words for the consecration of the wine have been uttered. Robert Pulleyn (about 1140) held that the example of the last supper binds the church to administer to priests in both kinds, but that the manner of administration to the laity is for the Church to settle, and that it is best to withhold the cup. Sentent. viii. 3, Patrol. clxxxvi.). As to the opinions of Folcmar of Triefenstein, see Patrol. cxciv. 1481, 1529. etc.; Neand. vii. 479.

the consecrated wine, the practice was now forbidden, although it was not yet wholly disused. In this case, as in that of adults, unconsecrated wine was sometimes given as a substitute for the eucharistic cup; but Hugh of St. Victor (or a writer who has been identified with him) ascribes such usages to the ignorance of the clergy, and declares that it is better to rely on the grace of baptism, as sufficient for the salvation of young children.[z] At a later time the communion of infants became a subject of controversy between the Greeks, who retained it, and the Latins.[a]

(5.) The more rigid view as to the observance of the Lord's day continued to grow in the church,[b] and attempts were made to enforce it by some of those pretended revelations which have been used in behalf of the same cause from the time of Charlemagne, or earlier,[c] to the miracle of La Salette in our own days. Thus, when

A.D. 1172. Henry II. of England was at Cardiff, on his way from Ireland to Normandy, as he was mounting his horse after mass, he was accosted by a man apparently about forty years of age, tall and spare in figure, with yellow hair displaying a tonsure, dressed in a white robe, with a girdle around his waist, and with naked feet. After having greeted the king in English,[d] this personage charged him, in the names of the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul, to allow no

[z] De Cærimoniis Ecclesiąsticis, i. 20 (Patrol. clxxvii. 392). See above, p. 410, note [c].

[a] See Giesel. II. ii. 438; Waterland, vi. 64, ed. Oxford, 1843; Neand. vii. 476; Lanfranc, Ep. 33, with D'Achery's notes; and for later prohibitions, Conc. Burdeg. A.D. 1255, c. 5; Conc. Bajoc. A.D. 1300, 16, etc. Thomas of Cantimpré says that infant-communion was forbidden by a general council; but this is a mistake. Neand. l. c.

[b] Thus Moneta says that we observe the Lord's day as the Jews observed the sabbath, "hoc excepto, quod illi abstinebant ab aliquibus in sabbato, a quibus nos non abstinemus in die Dominico." Adv. Catharos, p. 476.

[c] See vol. ii. pp. 74, 240; Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 616, 621.

[d] "*God hould dhe, cuning*, quod Latine sonat, Deus te custodiat, rex!" (Girald. de Instr. Princ. 12.) In some books (as Bromton, ap. Twysden, 1079), this becomes, "Gode olde king."

markets to be held, or any but the most necessary secular works to be done, on the Lord's day, and warned him that a neglect of this command would be followed by heavy judgments; and having delivered his message he disappeared.[e] Again, in 1199, it was said that a letter from the Saviour was found in the church of the holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, denouncing terrible chastisements for breach of the Lord's day; and this letter was used by Eustace, abbot of Flai, in the diocese of Beauvais, who preached in England with great effect. Eustace denounced the holding of markets on the Lord's day, and the sale of anything, except that of necessary food and drink to travellers—in the case of which sale, one-fourth of the price was to be devoted to pious and charitable uses. He prescribed the observance of rest from the ninth hour on Saturday to sunrise on Monday; and it is said that his preaching was confirmed by miraculous judgments on some who ventured to profane this extended Sabbath. But a chronicler tells us that the king and other great men questioned the truth of the abbot's doctrine, and that the people feared them more than God.[f]

[e] Girald. Cambr. Itiner. Cambriæ, i. 6; Hibernia Expugn. i. 39; De Instruct. Principum, 12.

[f] R. Hoved. 466-7. Eustace visited England twice, and it was on his second visit, in 1201, that he displayed the letter from Heaven. He was connected with Fulk of Neuilly, whose preaching will be mentioned in the next chapter, sect. vii. (M. Par. in Wendov. v. 141). In addition to preaching against the profanation of the Lord's day, he denounced usury and other prevailing vices. He is said to have wrought many miracles, and, in particular, to have consecrated a well at Wye, near Ashford, which almost down to our own times has been resorted to by the people of the neighbourhood as possessing a supernatural efficacy. (See Wendov. iii. 148-52; R. Coggesh. in Bouq. xviii. 94; Jocel. de Brakelonda, 98; Hasted's Kent, iii. 176, folio ed.) One of his miracles is said to have been as follows:—A woman, swollen to an enormous size, as if by dropsy, applied to him for cure, and was told to drink of the well at Wye. She did so, and thereupon vomited two black toads, which immediately turned into very black dogs, and soon after into asses; but, on being sprinkled with water from the well, the forms rose and vanished into the air, leaving a foul smell behind them. (Rog. Hoveden, 457, *b*.) Taxter says that Eustace returned to France, "quia prædicatio ejus multis ecclesiæ prælatis molesta fuit." Flor. Vigorn. contin. ii. 165.

The observance of the Lord's day, and of other holy days also, is said to have been especially strict in Norway, "so that the people never ventured of their own accord to do anything either great or small." [g]

(6.) To the great festivals of the year Trinity Sunday was now added. It differed from the rest in character, inasmuch as it was not the commemoration of any event, but was consecrated to a doctrine; yet it seemed a fitting completion for the circle of festivals, and, although not without some opposition on the ground of novelty, it succeeded in establishing itself, and has continued to hold its place.[h]

(7.) Reverence for the blessed Virgin was continually rising to a greater and greater excess. The idea of her acting as a mediatrix for those who might fear to approach the Saviour immediately is inculcated by St. Bernard.[i] She was spoken of as "Queen of heaven;"[k] the angelic salutation was repeated as an address to her fifty, a hundred, or even a thousand times a day,[l] and in monasteries offices were said in her honour from the time of Gregory VII.[m] As Sundays and festivals were dedicated to God, so Saturdays and eves were dedicated to St.

[g] Herbert. Turritan. de Miraculis, iii. 38 (Patrol. clxxxv.), who goes on to tell that St. Olave, having begun to smooth a stick with his knife on Sunday, without remembering the day, was cautiously admonished by one of his courtiers—"My lord, to-morrow is the second day of the week;" whereupon the king, in compunction, collected the chips and burnt them on the palm of his hand, which, in token of his innocence, escaped unhurt.

[h] Neand. vii. 463-4. In England it was established by Becket, in remembrance of his consecration on that day, A.D. 1162. (Steph. Birchington, in Wharton, Angl. Sac. i. 8.) Pope John XXII. appointed a special office for the day, and to him it owes its establishment throughout the western church. Baluz. Vitæ Paparum Aven. i. 177, 793; Schröckh, xxiii. 431.

[i] Serm. de Nativ. B. M. V. 7. Patrol. clxxxiii. 441; in Dominic. infr. Octav. Assumpt. 2, ib. 430.

[k] Eliz. Schonaug., quoted at p. 338. Luc. Tudens. 238, 243 (Bibl. Patr. xxv.).

[l] Pet. Damiani, de Bono Suffragiorum, 3 (Patrol. cxlv. 564); Herm. Tornac. de Restauratione S. Mart. Tornac. 57 (ib. 180); Mabillon, Acta SS. vii. Præf. 55. The first order for it is by Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris, 1198. (Ib. ccxii. 64, Præcept. 10); Gieseler, II. ii. 471-2.

[m] Gerhoh. in Ps. xxxix. 4 (Patrol. cxciii. 1436).

Mary ; and the recitation of her office on Saturday was ordered by Urban II. at the council of Clermont.[n] The new orders of monks—above all the Cistercians—were under her especial protection.[o] The most extravagant and hyperbolical language was employed to express her greatness ;[p] while on the other hand, in the vernacular poetry of Germany, she was addressed in strains which borrowed something from the feelings of chivalry.[q]

The heightened reverence for the Virgin had long assumed that she was without sin ; but it had been supposed, as by Paschasius Radbert and by Anselm, that she was conceived in sin, and was afterwards sanctified, either before[r] or after[s] her birth, by the special operation of the Holy Spirit. A festival was instituted in honour of her conception, and although it met with opposition in some places, was generally received in England in the course of the century.[t] But now the opinion began to

[n] (A.D. 1095); Hard. VI. i. 1722; Chron. Sithiens. ap. Bouq. xiii. 479; Giesel. II. ii. 471.

[o] Rainard. Cisterc. c. 18 (Patrol. clxxxi. 1729); Cæsar. Heisterb. vii. ult. ; Giesel. II. ii. 469.

[p] *E.g.*, by Rupert of Deutz, l. vii. in Cantica, fin. (Patrol. clxviii. 962); and by Guibert of Nogent, 'De Laude B. Mariæ,' ib. clvi.; Schröckh, xxviii. 203, 237.

[q] See extracts in Gieseler, II. ii. 468-9.

[r] Paschas. de Partu Virginis (Patrol. cxx. 1371).

[s] Anselm., 'Cur Deus Homo," ii. 16 (ib. clviii.) In c. 18 it is said that she was cleansed through faith. St. Anselm has been spoken of as having introduced the festival of the Immaculate Conception (as by abp. Meopham, A.D. 1326, in Wilkins, ii. 552), and a passage from a commentary on St. Paul, which was formerly ascribed to him, has been borrowed by one Romish writer from another, down to the late cardinal Gousset, archbishop of Reims (Théologie Dogmatique, ii. 328, ed. 5, Paris, 1850, where, moreover, the reference is incorrect), as showing that Anselm held the modern Roman doctrine on that subject. But (1) the treatise in which this passage occurs has long been ascertained to be the work of a somewhat later writer, Hervé of Bourg-Déols. (2) Even in the work of Hervé, the words are an interpolation, being absent in the best MSS. (see Censur. in Anselm., Patrol. clviii. 41). (3) Anselm in his genuine works speaks clearly on the other side. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 219 as to Anselm's views, and as to the tracts on the conception which have been falsely ascribed to him; also Mabillon, Annal. Bened. vi. 121.

[t] It was sanctioned by a council at London, in 1129 (Annal. Theokesbur. in ann.), and was forwarded by the authority of bishop Gilbert Foliot. Osbert. de Clara, Epp. 8, 21 (published by Col. Anstruther, with Herb. Losinga,

be broached that she was herself conceived without sin [u] and about 1140 the canons of Lyons proceeded to celebrate the new doctrine by a festival of the *Immaculate* Conception, on the 8th of December. By this, Bernard was drawn to write a letter of remonstrance, in which he states his belief that the Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, but that Christ alone was conceived without sin. If, he says, we were to suppose that the Saviour's mother must have been so conceived in order that she might be fitted to give him birth, we might be required to suppose the like as to her parents also on both sides, and so of all her ancestors; and he censures the institution of such a festival without the sanction of the apostolic see.[x] Other eminent divines of the age took the same view with Bernard; as Peter of La Celle, who strongly defended him in two letters against a monk of St. Alban's named Nicolas;[y] Potho, a monk of Prüm;[z]

Brussels, 1846). See, too, the History of St. Peter's at Gloucester, i. 15 (Chron. and Mem.).

[u] It has been said that "the Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception of the Virgin mother" (Gibbon, v. 33; cf. Sale, n. on Koran, c. 3, p. 39); and the Koran has even been cited as an authority on the subject by some advocates of the doctrine. (See quotations in a pamphlet on the bull "Ineffabilis" by the Rev. R. C. Jenkins, Lond. 1867.) But the passages alleged for this (Kor. iii. vv. 31, 37), even if we admit Sale's explanation of v. 31 by a tradition, seem to imply no more than an exemption from actual sin—not reaching to the idea of a sanctification in the womb, much less to that of the immaculate conception.

[x] Ep. 174. The attempts of writers in the Roman interest to get over this letter are remarkable. Thus Baronius (1136. 14-15) asserts that Bernard wrote, not as expressing his own opinion, but merely in order to bring the matter before the pope for decision. This idea is rightly declared by Pagi to be incredible. Others say that he objected to the festival only, not to the doctrine, —an evasion which a simple reading of the letter is enough to refute; others, that, as he professes in the conclusion to submit the whole question to the Roman church—"ipsius, si quid aliter sapio, paratus judicio emendare"—he must be supposed to acquiesce by anticipation in the decree which Pius IX. pronounced, in 1854, in favour of the immaculate conception. But the only question which concerns us is that of Bernard's own judgment on the subject; and indeed he can hardly have been unaware that the western church in his own time was not likely to decree against any opinion of his. See on the history of the doctrine, Mill's University Sermons, 1845, pp. 491, seqq.

[y] Patrol. ccii. 617, seqq.; clxxxiii. 32.

[z] De Domo Dei, l. iii. fin. (Bibl. Patr. xxi. 502). He also blames the

and the ritualist John Beleth, who says that the feast of the Virgin's immaculate conception ought to be suppressed, forasmuch as she was conceived in sin.[a]

(8.) The ancient pagan festival of the Saturnalia, with its wild license and misrule, had affected the Christian celebration of the Christmas season, as appears by the protests of a chain of witnesses which reaches down from the fourth century.[b] Out of this arose a class of mock festivals, in which the rites of religion were parodied in a strange and startling fashion—at first, perhaps, without any evil intention, but gradually developing into gross profanity. The "Feast of Fools"[c] was celebrated in some places on the Circumcision, and in others on the Epiphany or its octave, when the subdeacons chose a Bishop of Fools. This prelate was arrayed in pontificals, and performed a burlesque mass, during which his attendant minister ate sausages, and carried on all manner of extravagant gambols in church.[d] In 1198 a papal legate, cardinal Peter, strongly condemned this profane mummery at Paris, and in the following year it was suppressed in that church by bishop Eudes of Sully.[e] In the thirteenth century, a still stranger festival of like

introduction of Trinity Sunday and the Transfiguration as novel and superfluous festivals. Ib.

[a] Rationale Divin. Offic. 146 (Patrol. ccii. 149). See the editor's note.

[b] See Schröckh, xxviii. 270-1; Giesel. II. ii. 479.

[c] C. Schmidt, in Herzog, x. 204. Ducange supposes the 16th Latin canon of the council of Constantinople in 869 to relate to this; but it is really directed against the mad buffooneries of the emperor Michael III. (See vol. iii. p. 417.) There is, however, something more like the "Festum Fatuorum" in the account given by Cedrenus of the patriarch Theophylact of Constantinople. (See vol. iv. p. 142; Cedren. 639; Giesel. II. ii. 479.) Luke of Tuy says that the parodies which the cathari enacted in ridicule of the church's services (see p. 324) were often witnessed with delight by clergymen, who thought such amusements lawful. iii. 10.

[d] Beleth, c. 72 (who says that the subdeacons were sometimes reckoned with the sacred, and sometimes with the minor orders); Ducange, iii. 959; Schröckh, xxviii. 271-2; Gieseler, II. ii. 480. See Ducange, artt. *Abbas Conardorum* (a mock abbot, who at Rouen, Evreux, etc., was chosen on St. Barnabas' Day); *Kalandæ*, etc.

[e] Patrol. ccxii. 70; Giesel. II. ii. 481. See other documents in Goussainville's Appendix to Peter of Blois, Patrol. ccvii. 1168, seqq.

kind—the "Feast of Asses," in mock commemoration of the ass which carried the infant Saviour into Egypt—was celebrated at Rouen and elsewhere ;[f] and in England the boy bishop or abbot was chosen by the choristers of the greater churches on the feast of St. Nicolas, the patron of children, down to the time of the Reformation.[g]

(9.) The passion for relics was greatly encouraged and nourished by the crusades, which introduced to the Christians of the West many saints before unknown to them—such as the virgin Catharine of Alexandria—and supplied a vast quantity of materials for superstitious reverence. Among the chief of the relics which now became famous was the "holy dish," brought by the Genoese from Cæsarea, after the capture of that place in 1101, and still preserved in the cathedral of their city—a vessel which, although in reality made of green glass, was believed to be of emerald, and was venerated as having been used at the last supper.[h] Another was the Veronica (*vera icon*) —a cloth on which our Lord was said to have miraculously impressed his countenance while on his way to Calvary. The Veronica was exhibited in St. Peter's at Rome from the year 1011, and was connected with a legend that it had been brought to Italy for the cure of the emperor Tiberius, when afflicted with leprosy ;[i] and a

[f] Ducange, iii. 255 ; Giesel. II. ii. 480 ; Michelet, ii. 95, ed. 1852 ; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Eselsfest*. Dr. Maitland has corrected some mistakes on this subject, 'Dark Ages,' c. ix

[g] See Scott's novel of 'The Abbot,' c. xiv. and note, as to such festivals.

[h] William of Tyre (x. 16, Patrol. cci.) mentions the acquisition of the *sacro catino*—"vas coloris viridissimi"—but appears sceptical as to the material, and says nothing of its legendary history. James de Voragine enlarges much on the value of the supposed emerald, but does not seem to believe the sacred connexion. (Chron. Januens. in Murat. ix. 32-3.) George Stella, however, believes it (Murat. xvii. 970). See Giesel. II. ii. 450 ; Murray's Handbook of North Italy, 114, ed. 1860.

[i] Marianus Scotus, A.D. 39, in Pistorius, i. 550 (the passage does not appear in Pertz's edition) ; Acta SS. Feb. 4 ; Schröckh, xxviii. 211-12. The Veronica is said to have warned Innocent III. of his approaching death by turning upside down in a procession. (M. Paris, 290, ed. Wats.) There were cloths of similar pretensions elsewhere than at Rome ; but the Bollandists

saint Veronica was imagined as the person who handed the cloth to the Saviour. Another relic of great fame was the seamless coat of our Lord found at Argenteuil in 1156—one of many coats which claimed the same sacred connection, but distinguished from the rest as having been made for Him in his childhood by his virgin mother;[k] and from this age also comes the first authentic mention of the holy coat which the empress Helena was said to have presented to an imaginary archbishop of her pretended birthplace, Treves.[l]

To a different class belong the renowned relics at Cologne—the bodies of the holy three kings, which, as we have already seen,[m] were translated from Milan by archbishop Reginald, and those of St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins. The legend of the British princess and her virgin companions, who are said to have been martyred by the Huns at Cologne, had been told by Sigebert of Gemblours, early in the twelfth century, under the date of 453.[n] But when heresy afterwards became rife at Cologne, and miraculous aid was desirable in opposition to it, some bodies were opportunely found, and were sent to St. Elizabeth of Schönau, who referred the martyrdom of the virgin company to the year 238—a date inconsistent with the story of their martyrdom by the Huns—and had visions of their heavenly glory.[o] In connection with this affair, it A.D. 1156.

consider them to be copies. Acta SS. Feb. 4, pp 461-3

[k] Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1156; R. de Diceto, 536; Hugo Rothomag Ep. 15 (Patrol. cxcii.); R Wendover, ii. 283; Gieseler, II. ii. 461.

[l] See Patrol. cliv. 1133-4, 1249: Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 235, Herzog, art. *Trier, Heiliger Rock.*

[m] P. 184. [n] Patrol. clx.

[o] Vita, 116 (Patrol. cxcv.) See above, p. 338; Cæsar. Heisterb viii. 85-9. The incredible number 11,000 has been explained by supposing that one of the virgins was named Undecimilla. But there is no example of that name, and the most probable theory is that in an inscription "XI.M.V." (xi. martyres virgines) the M. may have been wrongly read as *millia*. For the growth of the story, see Rettberg, Kircheng. Deutschlands, i. 111, seqq.; Giesel. II. ii. 459. Father de Buck discusses the matter at great length, giving up much of the legend, but endeavouring to rescue some part of it.

is mentioned that the relics had been suspected, because some persons were in the habit of practising frauds in such matters for the sake of money;[p] and of such practices there is abundant evidence.[q]

In the end of the eleventh century, Guibert of Nogent-sous-Couci was led to compose a treatise "On the Relics of Saints,"[r]—the immediate provocation being the impudence and the success with which the monks of St. Medard's at Soissons displayed a pretended tooth of our Lord. Guibert altogether denies that such bodily relics of the Saviour could be genuine;[s] he opposes the practice of disturbing the saints in their graves, and enclosing their remains in gold and silver; and he speaks without reserve of the arts by which both relics and saintly reputations were manufactured.[t] As a specimen of the audacity with which impostures of this kind were carried through, he mentions that once, while listening to a sermon, he was astonished by the preacher's pointing at him as a witness for the genuineness of some crusts which were said to have come from our Lord's own table! and that, although he blushed at the falsehood, he allowed it to pass, out of deference for those who had taken such means of filling their monastic purse.[u] The superstition which Guibert attacked, however, found a zealous defender in his contemporary Thiofrid, abbot of Epternach,[x] and continued in undiminished popularity.[y]

He thinks it probable that the number 11,000 represents that of the victims slain by the Huns under Attila at Cologne; that they were styled martyrs as having been put to death undeservedly; and that under the name of *virgins* may be included men, married women, widows, nay even "puellæ vitiatæ." Acta SS. Oct. 21, pp. 142, seqq.

[p] Eliz. ap. Giesel. 459.

[q] Thus a council at Poitiers, in 1100, orders "Ut sanctorum reliquias causa pecuniæ et quæstus circumferentes ad prædicationem non admittantur." c. 12. Salimbene, after mentioning that at Bobbio he had seen a waterpot from the marriage of Cana, adds—"Si est, Deus novit, cui nota sunt omnia, aperta et nuda." 188.

[r] De Pignoribus Sanctorum (Patrol. clvi.). [s] II. vi. 4.

[t] I. iii. 4. [u] I. ii. 6.

[x] Thiofr. Flores Epitaph. SS. (Patrol. clviii.).

[y] Among instances of this time may

(10.) The practice of pilgrimage had produced the great movement of the crusades, and, after the success of the Latins, the crowds which flocked to the Holy Land were, for a time, greater than ever. Particular indulgences were attached to the longer pilgrimages—such as those of Rome, Compostella, and Jerusalem; and Innocent III. complains that, for the sake of the privileges connected with the Compostella pilgrimage, the scallop-shells which were the token of it were counterfeited.[z] But warnings continued, as in early times, to be lifted up by eminent teachers against a reliance on pilgrimage. Thus Hildebert praises a widow for having chosen, instead of running after the Saviour's burial-place, to "follow Him in his burial" by entering a convent,[a] and remonstrates with count Fulk, of Anjou, for neglecting his duties that he might go on pilgrimage to Compostella:—"Among the talents which the Householder hath distributed to his servants," he says, "no doctor and no scripture mentions that of wandering round the world."[b] In like manner, Bernard exhorted against leaving the duties of home in order to visit the Holy Land;[c] and Peter of Cluny strongly reproves a monk for intending to set out on pilgrimage. "It is," he says, "a greater thing to serve God continually in humility and poverty than to perform the journey to Jerusalem in pride and luxury. If it be well to visit Jerusalem, where the feet of our Lord stood, it is far better to pant after heaven, where He himself is beheld

be mentioned that the empress Matilda, on returning from Germany, brought with her to England a hand of St. James the apostle, "per quod irreparabile damnum regno Francorum intulit." (Annal. S. Disibod. A.D. 1126.) St. Petroc's body was carried off from Cornwall to Brittany, but was restored by command of Henry II. (Ben. Petrib. 228-9; R. Hoved. 324). William of Waterville was deposed from the abbacy of Peterborough for having violently taken holy relics belonging to the abbey, and pawned them to Jews, A.D. 1175. Ben. Petrib. 129.

[z] Ep. x. 78.

[a] Ep. i. 5 (Patrol. clxxi.).

[b] Ib., Ep. 15.

[c] Epp. 52, 264, 399.

face to face."[d] It was held that a vow of pilgrimage was fulfilled by entering a monastic order—that so to vow the whole life to God was more than the partial vows of pilgrims.[e] Other commutations for the longer pilgrimages were also sanctioned; thus Calixtus II. allowed the English and Scots, instead of going to Rome, to content themselves with resorting to St. David's—two visits to the Welsh sanctuary being reckoned as equivalent to one pilgrimage to Rome.[f] And in this, as in other things, the idea of performing duties by proxy was introduced; for instance, a lady left estates to a Danish convent in 1272 on condition that, for the good of her soul, the monks should send off three pilgrims to Jerusalem, Rome, and Aarhuus.[g]

(11.) The belief in the continued performance of miracles was unabated; and special collections of miraculous stories were formed, as by Peter of Cluny,[h] Herbert, archbishop of Torre, in Sardinia,[i] and in the next century by Cæsarius of Heisterbach; to which may be added the books on the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury, by William of Canterbury and Benedict of Peterborough.[k] Yet Abelard ventured to deride the miracles of his most famous contemporaries, such as Norbert and Bernard

[d] Ep. ii. 15.

[e] Anselm, Epp. iii, 33, 116; Cæsar. Heisterb. i. 6.

[f] Will. Malmesb. Gesta Regum, c. 435; Joh. Petrib. ap. Sparke, 67. "Witness the ancient rhyming verse—

'Roma semel quantum, bis dat Menevia tantum.'

Not that St. David's gives a peck of pardons where Rome gives but a gallon, as the words at the first blush may seem to import; but that two pilgrimages to St. David's should be equal in merit to one pilgrimage to Rome." (Fuller, i. 298.) For St. Patrick's Purgatory, to which pilgrimages were now made, see Henr. Salteriensis, Patrol. clxxx.

[g] Münter, ii. 703; cf. Innoc. III. Ep. i. 69.

[h] Patrol. clxxix.

[i] Ib. clxxxv.

[k] Benedict's book has been published by Dr. Giles; that of William is about to appear in the 'Chron and Mem. of Great Britain.' In the Appendix to Stapleton's "Tres Thomæ," p. 108, seqq., ed. Col. Agripp. 1612, are stories of miracles done by some parts of the martyr's dress at the Premonstrantensian monastery of Dom-Martin or St. Josse-aux-Bois, in Artois, where the monks professed that his miraculous power was largely exerted at times when it was dormant at Canterbury.

—declaring that they did not rely on their prayers alone for a cure, but sometimes employed medicine in simple cases; that they sometimes ludicrously failed; and that all such failures were set down to the unbelief of the people, while the cures were ascribed to the holiness of those who wrought them.[l]

(12.) The system of penance became more and more widely different from what it had originally been. Not only did pecuniary commutations hold their ground (especially in England), notwithstanding all the prohibitions which councils could utter against them, but other things of a new kind contributed to destroy the ancient system. Among these new influences, the pope's assumption of a right to interfere with the penitential discipline in every diocese has been already mentioned.[m] But most especially the penitential discipline suffered from a system which now superseded the penitential books of earlier times[n]—the system of indulgences which were granted by way of inducement to perform some service for the church. These, unlike the indulgences of former days, were not limited to the forgiveness of particular sins, but extended to all.[o] Thus Gregory VII., in the names of St. Peter and St. Paul, promised absolution of all their sins to those who should take part with Rudolf of Swabia against Henry IV.;[p] and Victor III. endeavoured by a like promise to enlist men for a religious war against the Saracens of Africa.[q] This system was brought into its fullest operation by the crusades, from the time when Urban II. at Clermont proclaimed a plenary indulgence for all who should share in the holy war.[r] These indulgences, indeed, were intended as

[l] Sermo. 33, Patrol. clxxviii. 605-6.
[m] P. 348.
[n] Murat. Antiq. Ital. iv. 761.
[o] Planck, IV. ii. 396-8.
[p] Conc. Rom., A.D. 1080, Patrol. cxlviii. 818. See vol. iv. p. 334; Giesel. II. ii. 503.
[q] Vol. iv. p. 380.
[r] Hard. VI. i. 1724; vol. iv. p. 387; Morinus, x. 10.

remissions of those temporal penalties only which it was believed that the sinner must undergo either in this life or in purgatory; but the people in general understood them, and persisted in understanding them, as promises of eternal forgiveness, while they overlooked any conditions of repentance or charity which had been annexed to them.[s] And the license which marked the lives of the crusaders, and of the Latins who settled in the Holy Land, is an unquestionable proof of the sense in which the papal offers were interpreted.[t]

In addition to the enterprises in which life was risked, and to which, therefore, the ancient belief in the cleansing power of martyrdom might be extended,[u] indulgences of lesser degrees were granted by bishops for all manner of small performances—such as the recitation of a certain prayer before a certain altar, visiting a church on a certain day, pilgrimages to relics and miraculous pictures, or the like; and in furtherance of local undertakings, such as the building or enlargement of a church, the building of a bridge, the making of a road, or the enclosure of a forest.[x] Payment towards the expenses of the holy war was rewarded with indulgences in proportion to its amount;[y] and the allowance of indulgence was greatly increased. Thus an act which in an earlier age would have earned an indulgence of forty days, was now rewarded with absolution from a hundred years or more of purgatorial pain.[z] There were, however, those who, as Abelard, and Stephen, abbot of Obaize, did not

[s] See Alan. contra Hæreticos, ii. 11 (Patrol. ccx.); Planck, IV. ii. 402-3.

[t] Schröckh, xxvii. 156; Planck, IV. ii. 415-16; Giesel. II. ii. 504.

[u] Planck, IV. ii. 404.

[x] Alex. III., Epp. 740, 1427, etc.; Mabillon, Acta SS. vii., Præf. 54-5; Fleury Disc. at end of B. lxxiv. c. 16; Mosh. ii. 181; Schröckh, xxvii. 152; Planck, IV. ii. 396, 411; Giesel. II. ii. 505.

[y] See the 'Ordinatio Regum Franciæ et Angliæ,' A.D. 1184, in Hard. VI. ii. 1881-2. (Gieseler wrongly supposes Alexander III. to have been still pope, II. ii. 508.)

[z] Planck, IV. ii. 411.

hesitate to express their objections to the trade which was driven in indulgences, or their doubts as to the efficacy of these.[a]

The question whether confession to a priest were necessary in order to forgiveness of sin was often discussed. Both Gratian and Peter Lombard give the arguments on each side; Gratian, with some qualification, decides against the necessity, while the Master of the Sentences takes the opposite view.[b] Peter teaches, as Hildebert had before taught,[c] that true repentance must consist of three parts—the compunction of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of work;[d] but he holds that, if the assistance of a priest cannot be had, confession to a lay Christian is allowable.[e] As to the effect of priestly absolution, he thinks that the priest cannot forgive sins, but can only declare them to be remitted or retained; that, although we may have been forgiven by God, yet absolution by the priest's judgment is necessary "in the face of the church;" but that this absolution is valid in so far only as it agrees with the Divine judgment.[f] This opinion is spoken of by Richard of St. Victor as frivolous and ridiculous;[g] yet Richard himself did not venture to maintain that the priest had absolute power to forgive as with God's authority; and as yet the form of absolution continued to be precatory, not declaratory.[h]

[a] Abæl. Scito Teipsum. cc. 18, 25 (Patrol. clxxviii. 663, 672); Vita Steph. Obaz. iv. 18, Baluz. Miscell. iv. 131, ed. 8vo. Stephen, who died in 1159, has been beatified. Acta SS. Mart. 8, p. 804.

[b] Gratian. Pars II., causa xxxiii. qu. 3. dist. 1 (Patrol. clxxxvii.); Pet. Lomb. Sent. iv. 17 (ib. cxcii.).

[c] Sermo. 23, Patrol. clxxi. 447.

[d] Sent. iv. 16, c. 1.

[e] Ib. 17, c. 5.

[f] Ib. 18.

[g] De Potest. Ligandi et Solvendi, 12 (Patrol. cxcvi.).

[h] Bingham, XIX. ii. 4-5; Giesel. II. ii. 491. The higher notions as to the power of the priesthood in this respect were much forwarded by a treatise 'De Vera et Falsa Pœnitentia,' which in the 11th or 12th century was put forth as St. Augustine's, and was largely used by Gratian and Peter Lombard in their compilations. See the Introduction to it, in Patrol. xl. 1112; Giesel. II. ii. 493.

IV. *State of Learning*

The rise of great schools, and the increase of intellectual activity which marked the twelfth century, have been already noticed.[i] The foundation of the university of Oxford has been referred to Alfred; that of Paris, to Charlemagne; while Bologna has been carried back, by fable which has called forgery to its support, as far as the reign of Theodosius II., in the year 433.[k] For Cambridge too has been claimed an origin from Sigebert king of Essex, in the seventh century, from the British hero Arthur, in the fifth, and even from some date as early at least as the second century, when the professors of Cambridge are said to have converted king Lucius to the Christian faith.[l] But in truth the oldest of these famous seminaries cannot be traced to any earlier time than the twelfth century; nor can any formal foundation of them be shown, inasmuch as they did not owe their origin to any acts of papal or sovereign authority, but to the spontaneous concourse of lecturers and students. Their distinct organization and the bestowal of privileges by papal, imperial, or other charters, followed on the establishment of each body, as regulation became necessary, and as privileges were felt to be desirable; and at a later time the sanction of popes and princes was called in to give new universities a rank equal with those of earlier foundation, and especially to secure a general recognition for the degrees which they conferred.[m] The name of University, by which these great schools became distinguished, was not

[i] P. 98.

[k] Bulæus, i. 91, seqq., 211, 228; Savigny, iii. 164. The pretended charter of Theodosius is printed by Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iii. 21-3. For the real origin of Bologna, see ib. 85.

[l] See Bulæus, i. 291; Pits de Scriptoribus Angl. 47, ed. Par. 1619. Both Oxford and Cambridge have still more extravagant stories of having been founded long before the Christian era. Pits, 28, 47.

[m] Bul. 168, 415-17; Crevier, i. 252-4.

derived from their teaching of universal learning, but from the usage of the Roman law, in which it signified a corporation.[n] Thus, according to the varieties of constitution, the "university" might consist of the masters only (as at Paris), or might include the students also (as at Bologna); a single faculty might form an university, as we find the expressions *universitas artistarum* (*i.e.* the professors and students of the arts included in the trivium and quadrivium) and *universitas juristarum*;[o] and that which is popularly styled the university of a place might in reality consist of two or more universities —as at Bologna, from the time of Innocent VI., there were four universities, each under its own rector—two of them being devoted to law, one to medicine and philosophy, and one to theology.[p]

The story that the knowledge of Roman law, after having been extinct for ages, was revived by the discovery of a celebrated copy of the Pandects at Amalfi on the taking of that place by Lothair in 1135—that the emperor presented the book to his allies, the Pisans, in whose city it was long preserved with reverence—and that, at the instance of the great jurist Irnerius, he decreed that all men should thenceforth obey the Roman law only—appears to be utterly fabulous.[q] For traces of

[n] This is admitted by Dr. Newman, even while arguing that an university must teach universal knowledge. ('On University Education,' ed. 2. p. 16. See Wood's Antiquities of Oxford, ed. Gutch, i. 47; Savigny, iii. 412; Malden on the Origin of Universities, 13, Lond. 1835; Sir W. Hamilton's 'Discussions on Philosophy and Literature,' 492-7, ed. 2. The word, indeed, was commonly used to mean a whole body of men of any sort. Thus Frederick II. complains that the "universitates" of some towns have presumed to appoint their own magistrates (Pertz, Leges, ii. 256). Perhaps the first application of the word to the university of Paris is in connexion with the affair of Amalric of Bène (see vol. vi. p. 83). Hist. Litt. xvii. 45-6.

[o] Savigny, iii. 157, 412-13.

[p] Ib. 178-89, 514-15.

[q] Ib. 92. The oldest written authority for the finding of the book at Amalfi is said to be a poem by Rayne-rius de Grancis, a Dominican of Pisa, about 1340, in Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. xi. 314 (See Muratori there, and Antiq. iii. 887). The oldest authority for the complete story is said to be Sigonius (De Regno Italiæ, p. 270, ed. Francof. 1575), Giannone says all

acquaintance with the Roman law are to be found throughout all the ages which had intervened since the time of Justinian ;[r] and not only were other copies of the Pandects known before the date of the alleged discovery at Amalfi, but there is reason to believe that the book in question had been at Pisa long before that date—perhaps even from the days of Justinian himself.[s]

The increased study of Roman law would seem rather to have grown out of the needs of the Lombard cities, which, long before they extorted an acknowledgment of their liberties from Frederick Barbarossa, set up pretensions to independence, and wished for a system of law more suitable to their circumstances than the barbaric codes.[t] Moreover, the ancient civil law was regarded as having a claim on all the West beyond the immediate occasion, inasmuch as from the time of Charlemagne the states of western Europe had all been considered as forming one empire.[u] Hence arose the law-school of Bologna, under Irnerius, who has been supposed by some to have been a German, but was more probably a native of the city ;[x] and the first formal recognition of it is in a rescript which Frederick issued at Roncaglia in 1158. By this document special privileges are bestowed on the schools. The students, and the messengers or posts by whom they kept up communication with their homes, are to travel without hindrance ; it is ordered that no one shall be held liable for the misdeeds or for the debts of his countrymen ;

that he can in its behalf (l. xi. c. 2). See Gibbon, iv. 197.

[r] Murat. Antiq. Ital., Dissert. xliv., t. iii. pp. 886-8 ; Savigny, i. 439, seqq. ; iii. 83 ; Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 81 ; Middle Ages, ii. 473.

[s] Savigny, iii. 94-8. Since 1411 the MS. has been at Florence, where it is to be seen in the Laurentian library.

[t] Hallam, M.A., ii. 474 ; Savigny, iii. 84, 105.

[u] Ib. 87.

[x] Ib. iii. 426, seqq. ; iv. 16. Irnerius has been already mentioned, p. 15. Robert of Mont St. Michel wrongly places him in company with Lanfranc, as early as 1032 (Patrol. clx. 418). See Murat. Antiq. iii. 855-6, 893 ; Savigny, iv. 20.

the students are exempted from the jurisdiction of the secular magistrates, and are subjected to the judgment of their professors or of the bishop.[y]

The method of teaching and the writings of Irnerius and his followers, the "Four Doctors of Bologna,"[z] excited a desire for a compendium of church-law, which had been regarded as a branch of theology;[a] and the need of such a work was the more felt, because the Bolognese lawyers were imperialist and antipapalist in their principles.[b] Collections of ecclesiastical law had, indeed, been formed in times not remote, by Regino, abbot of Prüm,[c] by Burkhard, bishop of Worms,[d] by Ivo of Chartres, and others.[e] But these collections were not reduced to a system, and one great purpose of the digest which was now compiled by Gratian, a monk of Bologna, may be understood from the title which was given to it (although possibly not by the author), "A Concordance of discordant Rules."[f] In this the matter was classified under proper heads; the various sentences of councils, popes, and fathers were cited, and harmony was as far as possible established between them, while Gratian, unlike the earlier compilers, added to the usefulness of the book by introducing his own views and "dicta."[g]

[y] Pertz, Leges, ii. 114; Savigny, iii. 168-70; Malden, 48, 52. The words "a domino vel magistro suo" do not (as has been supposed) mean different authorities, but the one is added in explanation of the other. Savigny, 170.

[z] See p. 172.

[a] Savigny, iii. 514.

[b] Neand. vii. 281.

[c] Patrol. cxxxii.

[d] Ib. cxl.

[e] Ib. clxi. See Schröckh, xxvii. 20; Giesel. II. ii. 217; Wasserschleben, in Herzog, vii. 311-15.

[f] "Concordantia discordantium Regularum." Tiraboschi dates the book in 1140 (iii. 393). Fabricius says that it was completed in 1151 (Bibl. Lat. 843, Hamb. 1708). See Walter, 224; Wasserschleben, 315. Alberic of Trois Fontaines says that a "magister egregius" named Omnibonus compiled a 'Concordantia discordantium Canonum,' which from him was called *Omnebonum*, and that this was amplified by Gratian, under Alexander III. (Bouquet, xii. 703). It is supposed that Gratian was partly incited by Bernard's complaints as to the sway of the civil law in the pope's court (see p. 156). Schröckh, xxvii. 24. See Giesel. II. ii. 218.

[g] Wasserschl. 316; Hurter, 33.

The genuineness of the False Decretals was assumed, and their principles were carried thoughout the work, which thus served to establish those principles instead of the older canonical system. The Decretum (as it was generally styled) was recommended not only by its superiority over other collections in method and completeness, but by the circumstance that it emanated from the city which was the chief seat of legal science.[h] It was valuable as preserving many important fragments which would otherwise have perished, and became popular as the source of much second-hand learning which is displayed by writers of the middle ages.[i] But it abounds in uncritical blunders, and the compiler's attempts at a harmony of authorities were after all so far from satisfactory that a Cistercian chapter in 1188 ordered the book to be locked up, lest the promiscuous reading of it should propagate errors.[k] Eugenius III. is said to have approved the Decretum in 1152, and, although this statement seems to be very questionable,[l] the importance of Gratian's compilation for the papacy was speedily understood. It became the great text-book of the subject; within a few years after its publication, special professorships of canon law were established both at Bologna and at Paris;[m] the faculty of canonists or decretalists arose in rivalry to that of legists, and each conferred degrees on its members.[n] From this time the popes, if they wished to give currency to new decrees, had

[h] Schröckh, xxvii. 46; Savigny, iii. 514; Gieseler, II. ii. 216-17.

[i] Another great source of such learning was Peter Lombard's 'Liber Sententiarum' (Schröckh, xxviii. 524-6). The medieval quotations almost always follow any variations which these compilers make from the originals.

[k] Capit. Gener. Cisterc. c. 5, ap. Martene, Thes. i. 1263.

[l] See Schröckh, xxvii. 42, who believes it; Planck, IV. ii. 742. Wasserschleben (in Herzog, vii. 316) says that it rests on a forgery of the 18th century. Raumer observes that such sanction was not really necessary for a work composed of such materials. vi. 133.

[m] Giesel. II. ii. 228.

[n] Savigny, iii. 516; Pagi, xix. 56; Schröckh, xxvii. 43. For the later history of the Decretum, see Schröckh, ib. 48-50.

only to send them to the professors of the chief universities, by whom they were eagerly caught up, expounded, and disseminated through the agency of their pupils.[o]

The university of Paris owes its origin to William of Champeaux, Abelard, William of Conches, and their contemporaries, whose lectures attracted a great concourse of hearers to the city;[p] and it speedily grew to such an extent that the number of students is said to have exceeded that of the citizens.[q] The earliest documents which recognize the existence of the university are two decretals of Alexander III.[r] Celestine III. exempted the students in all questions as to money from the jurisdiction of the secular magistrates, and ordered that they should be judged according to the canon law, before the bishop, or the abbot of St. Geneviève;[s] and in the last year of the century, in consequence of a great quarrel between the students and the citizens, a grant of privileges was bestowed by Philip Augustus, who acknowledges the office of rector as already existing.[t] As the cathedral school had been the germ of the university, the chancellor of the cathedral was its superintendent; and hence, in other universities founded on the same model, the chief officer bore the title of chancellor.[u] The students of Paris were divided into four nations—a division which was afterwards imitated elsewhere.[x] This arrangement is said to have been fully established before 1169, when Henry II. of England offered to refer his

[o] Planck, IV. ii. 739-49; Giesel. II. ii. 220.

[p] Crevier, i. 112. See Joh. Sarisb. Metalogic. ii. 10; Hurter, ii. 12-19; Hist. Litt. xvii. 45-6.

[q] Schröckh, xxiv. 217.

[r] Savigny, iii. 226. See Bulæus, ii. 555.

[s] Bul. ii. 498; Crevier, i. 265.

[t] Bul. iii. 2; Crev. i. 255. The rector is styled *Capitale*.

[u] Savigny, iii. 226.

[x] The nations at Paris were—

(1). *French*, including Spain, Italy, and the East.

(2). *English*, including Germany, Hungary, Poland, and the Northern kingdoms. The name was changed to *German* in 1430.

(3). *Picards*, including the Netherlands.

(4). *Normans*. Savigny, iii. 349.

differences with archbishop Becket to the judgment of the university;[y] but the evidence appears unsatisfactory.[z]

As Bologna was the great school of law,[a] so Paris took the lead in theology; but it also became eminent in the other faculties. Giraldus Cambrensis, who had studied at Bologna as well as at Paris, tells us that both civil and canon law were best taught in the French university, and quotes the opinion of another, that Paris was the best school for every sort of learning which might be taken up there;[b] and whereas, in John of Salisbury's time, it was usual for the students of medicine to repair from Paris to Montpellier or Salerno, which were then in the highest fame as medical schools,[c] Paris itself, under Philip Augustus, was provided with facilities of all sorts for teaching medical science.[d]

England bore its share in the intellectual progress of the century. Englishmen, such as Robert Pulleyn,[e] Robert, who, from the place where he lectured, was styled of Melun,[f] and John of Salisbury, became famous abroad for their learning;[g] and to this time is to be as-

[y] Bul. ii. 363; Crevier, i. 254; Hallam, M.A., ii. 480.

[z] The authority alleged is R. de Diceto, who says that it was proposed to submit the case "scholaribus diversarum provinciarum" (551). But this does not necessarily imply the formal division into four nations; and Becket himself says only "scholarium Parisiensium" (Patrol. cxc. 586), without any mention of provinces. Du Boulay would deduce the division from the time of Charlemagne! i. 252.

[a] At Bologna an oath was sometimes exacted of lawyers, that they would not teach their science anywhere else. Murat. Antiq. iii. 899-903.

[b] Works, i. 46-8, ed. Brewer; Anglia Sacra, ii. 478.

[c] Joh. Sar., Metalog. i. 4; Crevier, i. 249. For Montpellier, see Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 517; for Salerno, Malden, 64-9.

[d] W. Armor. in Bouq. xviii. 182-3. See Bul. ii. 572; Crevier, i. 249. The customs of the university are described in a treatise 'De Disciplina Scholarium,' printed with the works of Boëthius (Patrol. lxiv. 1223, seqq.), but really written by Thomas of Brabant, in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Savigny, iii. 339-40.

[e] Patrol. clxxxvi. He was afterwards a cardinal and chancellor of the Roman see.

[f] Afterwards bishop of Hereford.

[g] Peter of La Celle, in a letter to Nicolas, a monk of St. Albans (Epp. ii. 171, Patrol. ccii.), contrasts the "Anglica levitas" with the "Gallica

cribed the real origin of the university of Oxford.[h] The earliest fact which seems to be certain in the literary history of Oxford is the establishment of Vacarius, a Lombard, as professor of civil law there, under the patronage of Archbishop Theobald, in 1149;[i] from which we may infer that it was already known as a place of study. It is remarkable that John of Salisbury, although he mentions Vacarius,[k] says nothing of his having taught at Oxford;[l] but Giraldus Cambrensis, about the year 1185, speaks of Oxford as the place most distinguished in England for the excellence of its clerks.[m] The sister university of Cambridge, according to the continuation of Ingulf which bears the name of Peter of Blois, existed as early as 1109, when Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, taught there. But the authority is worthless, and the statement is encumbered by the difficulty that Averroes, whose works Joffrid is said to

maturitas,' and adds that the English are affected by the water which surrounds their island, so that "nimia mobilitate in tenuissimas et subtiles phantasias frequenter transferuntur, somnia sua visionibus comparantes, ne dicam præferentes . . . . Certe expertus sum somniatores plus esse Anglicos quam Gallos."

[h] The connexion of Oxford with king Alfred is grounded on a passage in Asser, which, however, is generally supposed to be an interpolation. (See Monum. Hist. Britann. 489-90, and Preface, 89; Wood's Hist. of Oxford, ed. Gutch, i. 21-4; Pearson's Early and Middle Ages in England, i. 119; Shirley, in Gent. Mag., June, 1865, p. 746.) Dr. Lappenberg, however, is undecided as to the question (i. 339); and Mr. Huber supposes the words to be partly genuine ("English Universities," transl. by F. W. Newman, i. 46, 373-85). Ingulf is made to speak of the studies carried on at Oxford under Edward the Confessor (Fell, 73). But the credit of the writer who assumed this name is now gone. See vol. iv. p. 379; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 93; M. A. ii. 480.

[i] Gervas. 1665; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1149 (Patrol. clx.). Robert informs us that, for the use of his poorer scholars, Vacarius made an abridgement of the civil law, which, according to Savigny (iv. 359, 362), still exists in MS. He was silenced by king Stephen (Joh. Sarisb., Polycrat. viii. 22), but remained in England. Selden, in consequence of a mispunctuation in Robert, has made the mistake (in which others have followed him) of identifying Vacarius with Roger, abbot of Bec, to whom the primacy was offered after the murder of Becket. Dissert. in Fletam, Works, ii. 1082, seqq. See Wood, ed. Gutch, i. 150-4; Hist. Litt. xiv. 26; Savigny, iv. 348, seqq.; English Encyclop. art. *Vacarius*.

[k] See the preceding note.

[l] Hence Professor Schaarschmidt would infer that his teaching was only in the archbishop's household ("Joh. Sarisb." Leipz. 1862, p. 188); but the authority for Oxford seems to be sufficient.

[m] De Rebus a se gesti ii. 16.

have expounded, was then unborn.[n] It is not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that any trustworthy mention of Cambridge as a seat of learning is to be found.

The theologians of the western church in these times laboured under the disadvantage of being unacquainted with the original languages of Scripture. Anselm appears to have been ignorant of Greek ;[o] Abelard's knowledge of it seems to have been limited to such Greek words as are to be found in Latin writers, and he avows that he was unable to read some works of Aristotle and Plato because they had not been translated into Latin ;[p] John of Salisbury, although his knowledge of the classical Latin authors was unrivalled among his contemporaries, on meeting with the word *ousia* in a treatise of St Ambrose, was unable either to understand it or to find any western teacher who could explain it to him.[q] In consequence of this ignorance, the expositors of Scripture did not so much

[n] Contin. Ingulfi, ap. Fell, 114; Hallam, M.A., ii. 480; Hardy, Pref. to Mon. Hist. Brit. 19. Mr. Huber, however, tries to support the story. i. 62.

[o] Rémusat, Vie de S. Anselme, 457 (who refutes the contrary opinion of Hasse).

[p] Dialectica, in "Œuvres Inédits," ed. Cousin, i. 200, 206, 399. These passages, says M. Cousin, prove what until the discovery of the treatise was only matter of inference as to the limits of Abelard's knowledge.

[q] "Verbi obstaculum reperi, quod nullus magistrorum nostrorum sufficiat amovere, quia Græcæ linguæ expertes sunt." (Then follows a quotation, which is unintelligible as printed in the letter, but may be corrected by a comparison with Ambros. de Incarn. Verbi, 100, in Patrol. xvi.) "Sic quidem Ambrosius colligit, sed ratio inferentiæ vobis plenius liquet et Græcis, mihi vero et mei similibus nubeculosior est" (Ep. 169, Patrol. cxcix. See Schaarschmidt, 111). This letter, written while John was an exile in France for his adherence to Becket, is addressed to "Master John the Saracen," who seems to have been a convert of oriental birth, and therefore presumed to know something of Greek. John of Salisbury's slight acquaintance with Greek was picked up from a Greek whom he had met with in Apulia, on one of his missions to Italy while employed by Archbishop Theobald (Metalog. iv. 15, Patrol. cxc. 843; Schaarschmidt, 112. On the amount of his acquaintance with Plato and Aristotle, through translations, see Prof. Schaarschmidt, 113, seqq.). The title of his "Polycraticus" has given cause for much conjecture—the word being often derived from πόλις, and always from κρατέω. I believe, however, that the real derivation is from πόλυς and κεράννυμι—the title expressing the *miscellaneous* nature of the contents.

aim at discovering its real sense as at forcing into it such matter as they supposed to be edifying;[r] and hence they not only disguised all that they treated by a mystical system of interpretation,[s] but in their choice of subjects there was an especial fondness for the obscurest books, such as the Canticles, Ezekiel, and the Apocalypse.[t] The theologians of the time were divided into three classes—those who, like Bernard, followed the ancient expositors; the more speculative and adventurous thinkers, of whom Abelard is the chief representative; and a middle class, who, after the example of Lanfranc and Anselm, endeavoured to combine original thought with a deference to antiquity. These three classes were respectively known as Positives, Scholastics (a word which, from having been used as a general term for learned men, was now applied more especially to signify the professors of philosophical theology),[u] and Sententiaries.[x]

A service like that which Gratian had rendered to ecclesiastical law was performed for theology by Peter Lombard, a native of Novara, who, after having long taught with great reputation at Paris, became bishop of that city in 1159, and died in 1164.[y] The name of Sentences had before been given to the collections of ancient authorities which had been popular since the seventh century.[z] Such a collection of opinions had been formed by

[r] See John of Salisbury, Polycr. vii. 12, col. 666.

[s] Schröckh, xxvii. 324.

[t] Ib. 322. In Migne's 'Patrologia' there are at least fourteen commentaries on the Canticles by writers of the 12th century. If printed like the text of this volume, they would fill nearly 4,000 pages.

[u] Bulæus, ii. 382, seqq.; Giesel. vi. 446.

[x] See Mosheim, ii. 486; Possevin, quoted by Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 18.

[y] See Peter's works in Patrol. clxxxix.; Schröckh, xxviii. 487; Ritter, vii. 475-7. In vol. cxcii. of the Patrologia are four books of Sentences which bear the name of Master Bandinus—a person of whom nothing is known. It has been supposed that these were the original which Peter Lombard amplified; but they seem rather to be an abridgement of Peter's work. (Neand. viii. 78; Giesel. II. ii. 401.) Gratian and Peter are celebrated together by Dante (Parad. x. 103-8).

[z] Schröckh, xxviii. 488; Rémusat, 'Abélard,' ii. 160.

Abelard, under the title of "Yes and No," with a view of exhibiting their contradictions;[a] but Peter Lombard, on the contrary, in his "Four Books of Sentences," aimed a harmonizing them. He discusses questions down to those raised by Abelard, although without naming the authors; and the authorities which he cites come down to the time of Bede.[b] The method which was observed in the work gave it the charm of novelty, while in substance it was intended to accord with antiquity; and it speedily obtained a great popularity.[c] The "Master of the Sentences," indeed, was not exempt from censure; Gerhoh of Reichersperg denounced him to Alexander III.,[d] and one of his own pupils, John of Cornwall,[e] attacked him both while living and after death. An opinion imputed to him—that our Lord, in so far as He is man, is nothing[f]—was brought before the council of Tours in 1163, and before the Lateran council of 1179, and was condemned by Alexander, who directed the French bishops to teach "that Christ, as He is perfect God, so also is He perfect man, consisting, according to his manhood, of soul and body."[g] Joachim of Fiore also charged Peter with heterodoxy, as has been already mentioned; but the Fourth Lateran council in 1215 pronounced in favour of the Master of the Sentences;[h] and from that time his reputation and authority were greatly increased. Lectures and commentaries on his "Sentences" were composed in vast

[a] See p. 115. On Peter Lombard's obligations to Abelard, see Rémusat, ii. 180. Perhaps the idea of his work was taken from that of John of Damascus, 'De Fide Orthodoxa,' which had lately been translated into Latin. (See vol. iii. p. 47.) Hampden, Bampt. Lectures, ed. 2, p. 44.

[b] Schröckh, xxviii. 520-1.

[c] For estimates of the book, see Schröckh, xxviii. 488, seqq.; Ritter, vii. 479; Hauréau, i. 330.

[d] Ep. 17 (Patrol. cxciii.).

[e] This writer's remains are in the Patrologia, vols. clxxvii. and cxcix. See the Hist. Litt. xiii. Giraldus speaks of John of Cornwall—probably the same—as fitted by his knowledge of Welsh for the bishoprick of St. David's. Liber Invectiv. v. 8.

[f] "Quod Christus, secundum quod est homo, non est aliquid."

[g] Epp. 743-4, A.D. 1170 (Patrol. cc.); Chron. Reichersperg. in Pertz, xvii. 471; Hefele, v. 545, 639; Mosh. ii. 486; Crevier, i. 206.

[h] See p. 341.

abundance, and among the authors of them were the most eminent teachers of the church; England alone is said to have produced no less than a hundred and sixty-four writers who illustrated this famous text-book.[j] Yet the work, while it aimed at settling every point of doctrine, was often found rather to suggest questions than to answer them;[k] and in the year 1300 the professors of Paris extracted from it sixteen propositions as to which the Master's opinions were not generally held.[l]

The school of St. Victor at Paris, founded by William of Champeaux, while it endeavoured to reconcile the scholastic method of inquiry with practical piety, was especially opposed to the dialectical subtleties which were now in fashion, and was itself inclined to mysticism.[m] The most famous teachers of this school were Hugh—a Saxon, according to some writers, while others suppose him a native of Ypres—who died in 1141;[n] Richard, a Scotsman, who died in 1170;[o] and Walter, who, in 1174, wrote against "The Four Labyrinths of Gaul," under which name he denounced Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Peter Lombard, and his disciple Peter of Poitiers.[p]

Other writers, who were no enemies to letters or philosophy, agreed in censuring the dialectical arts which, from having been regarded with suspicion in the preceding century,[q] were now the great weapon of the most popular teachers. John of Salisbury complains of the

[j] Pits, 947, ed. Paris, 1619; Hauréau, i. 331.

[k] Ib. 330-1.

[l] "Hic magister communiter non tenetur." (See Schröckh, xxviii. 532.) Twenty-nine such points are enumerated in Patrol. cxcii. 961-4.

[m] Giesel. II. ii. 402; Hauréau, i. 319, seqq.; Hugonin, in Patrol. clxxv., Proleg. 80.

[n] See Patrol. clxxv., Proleg. 41-4; Schröckh, xxiv. 392; xxviii. 552, seqq.; Neand. viii. 65, seqq.; Giesel. II. ii. 403; Ritter, vii. 507, seqq.

[o] Patrol. cxcvi.; Schröckh, xxiv. 403; Ritter, vii. 547, seqq.

[p] The book is known only by the extracts published by Du Boulay in his History of the University of Paris, and reprinted by Migne, vol. cxcix. Walter is said to have injured his purpose by exaggeration. Giesel. II. ii. 404. See Schröckh, xxviii. 530. For Peter of Poitiers, see Patrol. ccxi.; Schröckh, xxviii. 540-1.

[q] See vol. iv. p. 362.

modern systems of study as ruinous to solid knowledge,[r] and describes a professor whom he styles Cornificius as teaching his pupils to despise all that was ancient, to neglect the old methods of learning, and to consider themselves accomplished philosophers after a course no longer than the time in which young birds become fledged.[s] Other writers of the age agree with John in their complaints as to the waste of time in speculations, the fondness for words rather than things, the abuse of dialectical art in mere quibbling, the too prevalent separation between knowledge and practice in those who professed themselves followers of literature, the tendency to hurry on to the higher subjects without having laid a substantial foundation. It was complained that Scripture was neglected in comparison of the new and showy kinds of knowledge,[t] that the study of law drew men away from that of other literature ; and, useful as the labours of Gratian and Peter Lombard were, when rightly employed, they tended, by offering a short and easy way to an appearance of familiarity with earlier writers, to discourage any endeavour after a deeper acquaintance with the original works from which their materials were derived.[u]

[r] Metalog. i. 24 ; ii. 17 ; Polycrat. vii. 12, etc.

[s] Metalog. i. 3. See Salimbene, 212. There was a Cornificia gens at Rome, and the name Cornificius is to be found in Catullus (36) ; but John of Salisbury probably uses it as meaning one who made horns of dilemmas—a troublesome disputant. Haurćau, i. 344.

[t] Giral. Cambr. Speculum Eccl. in Works, iv. 5-7, and notes.

[u] Crevier, i. 209-10. See Schröckh, xxviii. 301 ; Giesel. II. ii. 407 ; Neand. viii. 83-5 ; Hardwick, 317-18 ; Giral. Camb., Gemma Ecclesiæ, ii. 37 (Works, ii. 348.) Sir T. More tells a story of an ancient doctor who was very angry at hearing a certain opinion imputed to St. Augustine. On its being pointed out to him in the father's works, "'Certe' (inquit) 'ego valde miror de hoc, quod Augustinus dicit sic in isto libro ; quod certe non dicit sic in magistro sententiarum, qui est liber magis magistralis quam iste.'... Sunt," (adds More) "ex hac farragine, qui neque veterum quemquam neque scripturarum quidquam legunt, nisi in Sententiis et eorum commentariis." Ad M. Dorpium, ap. Erasm., Epp. iii. 1905.

END OF VOL. V.

MR. MURRAY'S LIST OF WORKS

ON

RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

The Speaker's Commentary on the Bible. Explanatory and Critical. With a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by Canon Cook. Medium 8vo. Old Test.: 6 vols., 135*s*. New Test.: 4 vols., 94*s*.

The Student's Edition of the Speaker's Commentary on the Bible. By J. M. Fuller, M.A. 6 vols., crown 8vo, 7*s*. 6*d*. each

Psalms of David; with Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By Dean Johnson, Canon Elliott, and Canon Cook. Extracted from the Speaker's Commentary. Medium 8vo, 10*s*. 6*d*.

The Gospel according to St. John. With Notes and Dissertations by Canon B. F. Westcott, D.D. Extracted from the Speaker's Commentary. Medium 8vo, 10*s*. 6*d*.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. With Notes and Commentary. By E. H. Gifford, D.D. Extracted from the Speaker's Commentary. Medium 8vo, 7*s*. 6*d*.

The Apocrypha; with a Commentary, Explanatory and Critical, by various writers. Edited by Professor H. Wace, D.D. 2 vols., medium 8vo, 50*s*. Uniform with the Speaker's Commentary.

The New Testament: Edited, with a short Practical Commentary, by Archdeacon Churton and Bishop Basil Jones. With 100 Illustrations. 2 vols., crown 8vo, 21*s*. bound.

Dictionary of the Bible: its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. By various Writers. Edited by Sir Wm. Smith. New and Enlarged Edition. Illustrations. 3 vols., 8vo, 4 guineas.

Concise Bible Dictionary. For the use of Students and Families. Condensed from the above. Maps and 300 Illustrations. 8vo, 21*s.*

Smaller Bible Dictionary; for Schools and Young Persons. Abridged from the above. Maps and Woodcuts. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dictionary of Christian Antiquities; comprising the History, Institutions, and Antiquities of the Christian Church. Edited by Sir Wm. Smith and Archdeacon Cheetham. Illustrations. 2 vols., 8vo, £3 13*s.* 6*d.*

Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines; from the Times of the Apostles to the Age of Charlemagne. Edited by Sir Wm. Smith and H. Wace, D.D. Vols. I., II., and III. 8vo, 31*s.* 6*d.* each. Vol. IV. 8vo, 42*s.*

The Great Enigma. 1. The Twilight of the Gods. 2. Atheism. 3. Critical Agnosticism. 4. Scientific Agnosticism. 5. Rational Theism. 6. The Inner Light. 7. The Christian Synthesis. By W. S. Lilly. 8vo, 14*s.*

An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, and an Investigation into Modern Biblical Criticism. By Geo. Salmon, D.D. Crown 8vo, 9*s.*

Lectures on the Infallibility of the Church. By George Salmon, D.D. Post 8vo, 9*s.*

A Dictionary of Hymnology: A Companion to existing Hymn Books. Setting forth the Origin and History of the Hymns in the most popular Hymnals, together with Biographical Notices of their Authors and Translators, and their Sources and Origins. By Rev. John Julian, D.D. Medium 8vo, 42*s.*

Some of the Chief Facts in the Life of Our Lord; and the Authority of the Evangelical Narratives. Lectures preached in St. James's, Westminster. By HENRY WACE, D.D. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Christianity and Morality. Boyle Lectures for 1874 and 1875. By HENRY WACE, D.D. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Foundations of Faith. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1879. By HENRY WACE, D.D. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Foundations of the Creed. Being a Discussion of the Grounds upon which the Articles of the Apostles' Creed may be held by Earnest and Thoughtful Minds in the Nineteenth Century. By the Very Rev. H. GOODWIN, late Bishop of Carlisle. 8vo, 14*s.*

History of the Christian Church from the Apostolic Age to the Reformation, A.D. 64–1517. By Canon ROBERTSON. 8 vols., post 8vo, 6*s.* each.

Undesigned Scriptural Coincidences in the Old and New Testaments: a Test of their Veracity. By Rev. J. J. BLUNT. Post 8vo, 6*s.*

History of the Christian Church in the First Three Centuries. By Rev. J. J. BLUNT. Post 8vo, 6*s.*

The Parish Priest: His Duties, Acquirements, and Obligations. By Rev. J. J. BLUNT. Post 8vo, 6*s.*

The Psalter of 1539: A Landmark of English Literature. Comprising the Text, in Black-Letter Type. With Notes by Prof. JOHN EARLE. 8vo, 16*s.*

Christian Institutions: Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects. By Dean STANLEY. 8vo, 12*s.*

Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. The Greek Text; with Critical Notes and Dissertations. By DEAN STANLEY. 8vo, 18*s.*

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church. By DEAN STANLEY. With Plans. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, from the time of Abraham to the Christian Era. By Dean STANLEY. Maps and Portrait. 3 vols. Crown 8vo, 18*s.*

Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey on Public Occasions. By the late Dean STANLEY. 8vo, 12*s.*

Sermons to Children, including the Beatitudes, the Faithful Servant. By Dean STANLEY. Post 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Benedicite; or, Song of the Three Children. Being Illustrations of the Power, Beneficence, and Design manifested by the Creator in His Works. By G. C. CHILD CHAPLIN, M.D. Post 8vo, 6*s.*

A History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. By Dean MILMAN. 3 vols. Post 8vo, 12*s.*

History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of NICHOLAS V. By Dean MILMAN. 9 vols. Crown 8vo, 36*s.*

History of the Jews, from the Earliest Period, continued to Modern Times. By Dean MILMAN. 3 vols. Post 8vo, 12*s.*

The Bampton Lectures, 1891: The Incarnation of the Son of God. By the Rev. CHARLES GORE. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Mission of the Church. Four Lectures delivered in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph. By the Rev. CHARLES GORE. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lux Mundi. A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation. By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. CHARLES GORE. Popular Edition. Crown 8vo, 6*s.*

The Christian Ethic. By Prof. KNIGHT. Crown, 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Three Counsels of the Divine Master for the Conduct of the Spiritual Life. By Dean GOULBURN. Crown 8vo, 9*s.*

THE KING'S LIBRARY
3000021970